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*R H Hayes, MBE, FSA*

*Helmsley and District  
Archaeological Society*





# The Ryedale Historian

## Contents

### *Editorial*

- 4 A L Pacitto *Raymond Hayes*  
7 R Iles *Archaeology and the North York Moors National Park*  
9 P A Rabtz *Forty years of research in a Wolds parish*  
12 W C Ainsley *An old Bilsdale family*  
16 F J Banks *Monastic agriculture: a farmer's view*  
20 J W Awmack *The Aumacks of Harome*  
22 D Johnson *Rievaulx Mill: a history trail*  
24 G E Morris *'Thwaite' place-names on the North York Moors*  
    & J McDonnell

### *Reviews*

- 30 *Recent research in Roman Yorks* (R H Hayes)  
33 *R H Hayes: Old Roads and Pannierways  
    in North East Yorkshire* (J H Rushton)  
34 *I Sampson: Where to go today: 3: Helmsley* (R V Hazlehurst)  
34 *P R Wilson (ed): Crambeck Roman Pottery industry* (B Vyner)  
34 *R H Hayes: North East Yorkshire Studies* (P A Rabtz)  
35 *D A Spratt & B J D Harrison (eds): the North York Moors:  
    Landscape Heritage* (R T Schadla-Hall)

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## Editorial

This issue of our publication is in large part a salute to Raymond H. Hayes, M.B.E., F.S.A. He recently celebrated his eightieth birthday, and with it half a century of exploration and research in the archaeology and history of North East Yorkshire – and most particularly his beloved Moors. Our cover photograph (provenance slightly uncertain, but probably by Joyce Robertson and probably at Antofts near Helmsley) shows him in typical form emerging from a 'windypit' – the local name for a pothole in the limestone. As well as the memoir by Tony Pacitto which follows this editorial, much of the very full Review Section (it has been a bumper year for publications) involves Raymond either as reviewer or reviewed. It is a privilege to give space to his comments on the Studies in honour of the former Mary Kitson Clark (now Mrs. Chitty) which provide a generous retrospective view of the progress of Roman-period archaeology in Yorkshire by one who has played a notable part since the 1930s.

Another prominent contributor who deserves a particular word of thanks is Professor P.A. Rahtz, who has just surrendered his chairmanship of the Society but remains a very active member.

The editor too is feeling a trifle reminiscent after approximately 30 years in the job (high time for a change!). There is quite a lot to be satisfied with in terms of the identifying and recording of archaeological and historical features, in the *History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* (1963) and in the pages of the Scarborough Society's *Transactions* as well as this journal. What is far less satisfying is the amount of destruction and vandalism that has taken place. There have been instances of blatantly illegal and culpable skulduggery – occasionally rapped over the knuckles by the authorities. At the other extreme some demolitions – like that of the Rosedale Chimney – have been unavoidable. In between lie rather too many innocent or at least legally blameless cases, such as the bulldozing of the earthworks at Malton Cote, north of Ebberton. Sometimes neglect rather than destruction has been the problem; here blame has, in certain cases, to be shared between

the farmer or landowner and English Heritage. At this moment the fabric of Slingsby 'Castle' (in fact a seventeenth-century hall-house on the site of an earlier castle) is deteriorating to a point where stabilisation, let alone repair, will very soon be impossible. Negotiations between owner and English Heritage have been protracted (though apparently now with some hope of resolution): fine, if the structure is still there. Meantime it is dangerous to approach, protected only by an inadequate wire fence, and without warning signs.

The role of the Department of the Environment and its agencies in such situations is by no means beyond reproach. Procedures for listing and scheduling are cumbersome and somewhat slower and less sure than the Mills of God; Malton Cote could have been saved if local recommendations had not languished interminably in somebody's pending tray at Fortress House. The record of Mr. Patten's predecessor at the DOE was such that the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (in virtual unison with other conservation bodies like the Friends of the Earth and the soon-to-be-dismembered Nature Conservancy Council) was moved to describe the Department's attitude towards Sites of Special Scientific Interest, for example, as 'legalised vandalism'.

We have been promised – not for the first time – that scheduling procedures are to be streamlined. Hopefully the piffling penalties for transgressors may also be increased to a point where they might actually deter. We shall see. Self-interest on the one hand and bureaucratic inertia and complacency on the other are a potent combination.

The Society's financial position is a little less parlous than it was at the corresponding point two years ago when we nursed Number 14 into print. We are, however, no less grateful to the North York Moors National Park, and to Ryedale District Council, for financial help towards printing costs.

John McDonnell

## Raymond Hayes

I first met Raymond Hayes in the early fifties when we were both founder members of the Helmsley Archaeological Society. In those days archaeology was just beginning to become popular, partly due to the influence of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Glyn Daniels on television, and many small excavations were taking place. Often these were conducted by individuals or local societies, and standards varied wildly. Also many of the diggers were somewhat individualistic, a state of affairs that could – and often did – result in fierce rivalries. It soon became apparent that when it came to being individualistic Raymond could beat them all, and yet he never allowed himself to be drawn into any of these squabbles, dismissing them instead with a good natured chuckle and a little gentle poking of fun, and somehow he managed to remain on good terms with everyone on all sides of any dispute.

It was this ability to relate to people that allowed him to acquire an apparently endless stream of enthusiastic helpers from the most unlikely sources, and combined with a faint air of eccentricity it charmed farmers and landowners alike into giving him free access to their property.

At about the time that I entered the scene Raymond was doing a lot of work with members of the Scarborough Archaeological Society, – notably Jim Rutter, then Curator of Scarborough Museum, the indefatigable Frank Rimington, Bill Lampough, and

George Pye, to name but a few. Also there were a dedicated group of lunatics, whom I joined up with, who had been exploring the Ryedale Windypits(1) under his guidance.

The previous year John Ford of Douthwaite Dale, then a schoolboy, had found a handled beaker on a ledge in Slip Gill Windypit. This was the first archaeological object to be recorded from any windypit, and it stirred much enthusiasm for further work. This marked the beginning of several years of intensive exploration and excavation in every known windypit in Ryedale, and most weekends Raymond could be seen festooned with ropes, ladders, lamps, rucksacks and cameras, etc., leading his motley crew to the latest dark, dangerous and filthy hole in the ground. Leading was generally the operative word – many times have I watched Raymond's laden figure disappear over the skyline talking animatedly, totally unaware that his audience were all 100 yards behind still desperately struggling through 6-foot high bracken on a 45 degree hillside that he hadn't seemed to notice.

Underground exploration is a slow process, and as most of the windypits were rather insecure in places we had to proceed with caution. Generally after the first half hour or so we would stop for a rest and to check lamps and equipment, and this was the invitation for Raymond to start taking photographs, a process that had the older hands diving for cover. I well remember my first experi-



ence of it. I was suddenly aware that he was carefully wedging what looked like a small tea tray containing a pyramid of grey powder with a fuse sticking out of the top into the rocks between my feet. He then gave me a box of matches, said "When I say 'Right' light that.", and retired immediately to the far end of the chamber with his camera. The fuse had become damp, and refused to light, so eventually I simply threw a lighted match onto the powder. The resulting fireball removed both eyebrows, temporarily blinded everyone, and filled the air with dense white smoke. A careful examination of Raymond's windypit photographs will often reveal pale faces nervously peering out of various crevices and fissures. I, for one, know why.

Nevertheless, these photographs were usually successful, which is more than could be said for those that others took using more conventional methods.

Excavation in the windypits was also fraught with peril, as any disturbance could, and sometimes did, start rockfalls, so that there was always an underlying tension while work was in progress. On one occasion a group of us were working on the bottom level of Antofts when Raymond's voice was heard to call "Look out!" from the top of the shaft some 80 feet above. This warning was followed by a thundering roar that sent us all diving for cover. The avalanche, when it arrived, consisted of a pile of empty cardboard boxes that he thought we might need for our finds!

It was in this windypit that we found a small chamber that had remained undisturbed since the bronze age, with a beaker standing against a wall, a small fireplace nearby, and food, bones, and flint implements still lying on the floor. I think that this was probably the most rewarding find that we ever made during all of our underground work. Antofts, Bucklands, Slip Gill, and Ashberry all yielded prehistoric material, with some Romano-British finds from Ashberry.

During this period we were also travelling up to Great Ayton Moor where he was excavating a complicated Bronze Age Cairn with S. V. Morris of Hutton Cross near Guisborough.<sup>(2)</sup> This site consisted of a burial cairn some 54 feet in diameter, an enclosure measuring 150 feet by 98 feet, two ring cairns 27 to 30 feet in diameter, and a stone bank running from the cairn some 300 feet to the SW. An intimidating task, but one which he tackled with his usual energy and enthusiasm, carrying the rest of us along with him. Of course, while all this was going on he was still having to earn a living, at first as a photographer, and later as a postman as well. Then there was his work as a County Correspondent for the Ordnance Survey, for which he later received his MBE. The late C. W. Philips, who organised the O. S. Correspondent system, once said that Raymond sent in more information than all the other Correspondents put together. Also he always had a fairly busy lecture programme in the winter, and in summer would lead various groups and societies on archaeological outings.

Although archaeology was always his major interest he did not allow it to dominate him, and he was very active in village life, playing in football matches, organising various events, and playing a variety of instruments at dances in the village hall. In the hard winter of 1947 he obtained his first pair of skis, and typically his first action was to fill a rucksack with provisions and ski six miles to the snowbound Lion Inn on Blakey Ridge in a one man relief operation. Henceforth skiing became another interest, and again his infectious enthusiasm spread to those around him; many an enjoyable day was had on the slopes of Rosedale and Farndale by local lads – and lasses – some of whom had never seen a pair of skis before. This state of affairs sometimes showed. One day we were stopped as we left a field in Farndale by the farmer's wife who said "Eeh Raymond, we have been disappointed today, you didn't bring that lad that was with you yesterday – you know, the one that kept falling down. We watched him all afternoon, it was better than television!" On another not to be forgotten occasion

everyone watched spellbound as a single ski carrying an empty wellington boot sailed majestically down an apparently deserted hillside. Then there was the night that Raymond skied across the Blakey road wearing his pot-holing helmet and a headlight. A passing motorist thought he'd just witnessed a nasty bicycle accident and called the police out!

Other pursuits included hiking, both on the North York Moors and in the Lake District, as well as rock climbing on a fairly informal level.

During the mid 'sixties and early 'seventies I was working with Ian Stead at St. Albans, Baldock, and Beadlam where we had large scale excavations with up to 100 volunteers housed in temporary accommodation – an old Civil Defence centre at St Albans and schools at Beadlam and Baldock. The logistics of this were as complicated as those of the excavations, but Raymond cheerfully accepted the post of Camp Warden and again his innate ability of his to relate to those around him came into play, and order was soon established. His work involved dealing with Local Council Officials, organising supplies, and coping with the inevitable day-to-day crises that arose. On top of this he was soon organising entertainments as well as evening trips to look at the local archaeology and historic buildings. (I believe that some of the latter had, over the years, become pubs, but that's another story!)

I think that almost everyone reading this will know of Raymond's archaeological work, but perhaps some do not know the personality behind it. I hope that I have helped to redress the balance. He is a man of boundless energy, tremendous enthusiasm and an irrepressible sense of humour which would never allow pomposity either in himself or those around him. He has profoundly influenced the lives of many of us who came into contact with him.

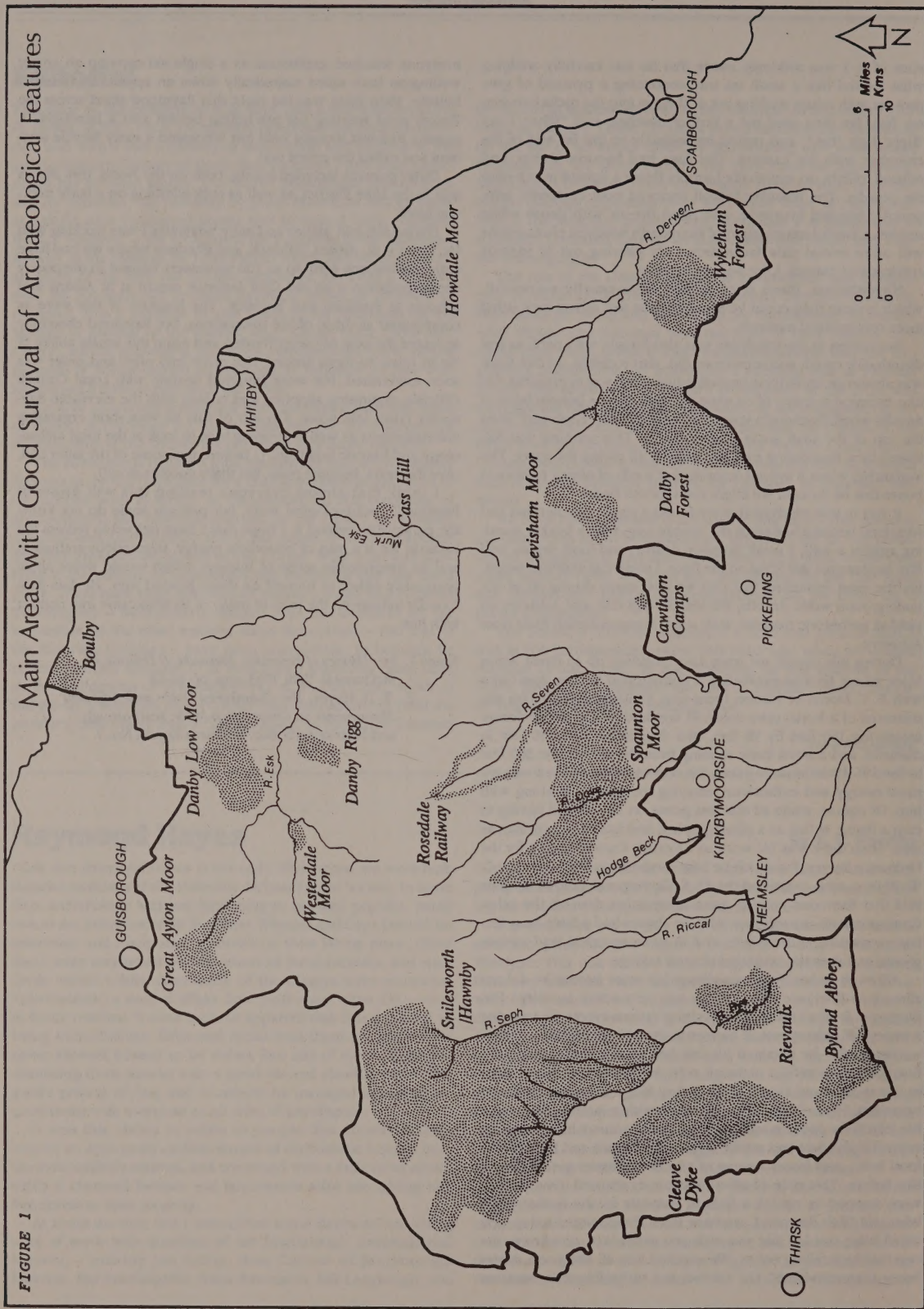
Notes 1. See *History of Helmsley, Rievaulx, & District*. ed. McDonnell, York 1963. esp. pp.16-18

2. R. H. Hayes, *The Chambered Cairn and Adjacent Monuments on Great Ayton Moor*. Scarborough and District Arch. Soc. Research Report No. 7.



FIGURE 1

Main Areas with Good Survival of Archaeological Features





## Archaeology and the North York Moors National Park

by R. Iles

The North York Moors was one of the 10 National Parks established in the 1950s. They were to be 'extensive tracts of country selected for their natural beauty'. The primary objectives behind their designation were :

- to preserve and enhance the natural beauty of the areas;
- to promote their enjoyment by the public.

It is only in more recent years that it has been realised the 'natural' beauty of these areas is in fact not entirely natural but partially a result of their over-exploitation in prehistoric times.

Since the 1970s there has been increasing emphasis on conservation within Park authorities, particularly of their ecological resources and latterly of their historic heritage. Perhaps the most notable example of archaeological conservation by the North York Moors National Park has been the purchase of Cawthorn Roman Camps in 1983. Since then the Park's Land Management Section has developed a programme of converting the trees and scrub on the site to pasture land. Sheep are once more grazing on the Camps and it is hoped to develop a new programme to interpret the site for the increasing numbers of visitors.

The main regulatory power of the National Parks is through the control of development as the local planning authority. With the establishment of the Sites and Monuments Record by the Archaeological service of North Yorkshire County Planning Department, advice about the archaeological effects of development proposals was handled by the County on behalf of the Park. With the appointment of an archaeologist in the North York Moors this work has continued (using a direct computer link to the County record), and expanded to cover consultations with the Park over farm and forestry grants.

The post of an archaeologist in the North York Moors National Park was created in 1988 and followed similar appointments in Dartmoor, the Peak District and the Yorkshire Dales National Parks. I was attracted to the post for two reasons. First the Moors are not only exceptionally rich in archaeological remains but also a great deal of research has been done, especially on the prehistoric and environmental evidence. Secondly the post was set up specifically to encourage the conservation of that archaeological resource rather than having to deal with numerous 'rescue' threats as is the case for most archaeology in local government.

So far my time has been split into dealing with two different tasks, namely the necessary administrative work and field survey. In addition to the consultations about development and other landscape proposals a lot of time has been spent on the preparation of the archaeological input to the two major policy documents that the Park has periodically to produce. These are the Local Plan, which provides the framework for development over the next decade, and the Review of the Park Plan, which is an attempt by the Park to set out its management objectives over the coming five years in association with other agencies and landowners. Both these Plans are subject to periods of public consultation and it is possible for anyone to make comments. Indeed if there are no comments, whether critical or positive, the Park might wonder if archaeology should be included in these plans.

The Local Plan includes a number of policies to protect the most important remains and to record features that will be destroyed. It also provides policies which require archaeological evaluation to be made on sites of potential interest before proposals for development are finalised. The first example of this in the North York Moors was a scheme for alterations to Sutton Bank car park. A short evaluation by Blaise Vyner (Cleveland County Archaeology Section) showed that the Cleave Dyke here had been preceded by a pit alignment.

As a result of preparatory work on the Park Plan a quick assessment was done of the amount of survey information available. This revealed that little systematic survey had been done for medieval and later settlements, and that comparatively small numbers of industrial monuments were included on the Sites and Monuments Record. These are two topics which warrant increased data gathering in the next few years. The resources the Park has available to do this with are very limited and it was decided to make an attempt to do this with the help of local people. An Historic Settlements Study Group has been set up to encourage and give guidance to local people who are willing to research their own parish or locality. It is very pleasing to be able to say how very helpful both local historians and archaeologists have been in giving information, much of it not yet published.

The problem with information on industrial monuments is probably more acute. There are groups, like Cleveland Industrial Archaeological Society, and other individuals, who have been making good records for a long time but these still have to be added to the Sites and Monuments Record. However the Moors have been subject to such intensive industrial activity, particularly associated with mining, that a great deal of new survey needs to be done just to get a basic record for the whole area. There are some good readily available sources, such as the 1850s 6" maps and vertical air photos, but as yet there has been little systematic searching of them.

Industrial archaeology also presents us with some of the biggest difficulties with conservation as the size and scale of industrial monuments is so large. The complex monuments in Rosedale associated with the mining and transport of ironstone have for long been recognised as some of the best surviving examples of their type in the country. In the latter half of 1989 the Park commissioned a survey of these remains with a view to starting a programme for their conservation in association with the landowners, English Heritage and local people. Hopefully this can begin over the next few years but the huge cost of merely stabilising some of these structures means that it will take a long time and some features may have to be left to gradually deteriorate without intervention.

As yet the Park does not have any funds for the conservation of archaeological monuments in the same way as it does for historical buildings, ecological areas and woodlands, but it is hoped to remedy this situation in the coming year. The Park has been running a very successful grant scheme for archaeological research in the last five years. Although these grants are fairly small they have considerably helped a number of projects, including the survey and excavation on Danby Rigg, research into the rabbit warrens on the Tabular Hills, and a great many publications. Generally grants are available to meet less than 50% the costs of a project except where it has been actually commissioned by the Park. An example of the latter is the assessment recently carried out of aerial photographs as a preliminary to new aerial reconnaissance. As part of its remit to provide information about the area the Park has also published a number of titles of historical interest, many of them written by Raymond Hayes, such as the most recent on Pannierways (See Review Section of this issue.)

Another important aspect of actually having an in-house archaeologist is the possibility of noting the archaeological effects of various schemes and issues at the discussion stage. For instance the Park has built up a good reputation for the research and practical work it has done on moorland management. However one of these schemes involves rotavating or planting moorland edges, the very area which has some of the best but subtle archaeology.



Another important issue is the use of local stone for new buildings and hardcore. In the last few years there has been an increasing shortage of stone which has led to the robbing of ancient stone cairns and industrial monuments.

The most satisfying part of my work has undoubtedly been the field survey which I have undertaken on the Downe estate of Danby Moors and Wykeham. This has been carried out to help improve management of the rich archaeological resource on this large estate. The estate itself is already supporting the Park's moorland management programme and the survey is merely providing the basis for doing something similar for the historic heritage. A pleasing part of the work has been the ability to show the estate that the present management for grouse shooting is generally benign to the archaeology. A scheme has been devised in co-operation with the estate for the presentation of the results of the survey. This is being done on large scale maps with sites and areas graded for their significance.

The field survey of the Danby Moors concentrated mainly on the areas where features had been recorded previously, as there was insufficient time to walk the entire 12,000 acres. Nevertheless by using vertical aerial photos and other means quite large numbers of 'new' monuments were recorded, including a possible cross-ridge dyke, over 200 coal shafts, 25 sheepfolds and beelds, and nearly 200 standing and boundary stones. The very large number of monuments surviving up on the moors means it is unrealistic to expect all of them to be conserved whatever the threat, hence the grading system. This is the first time that such a conservation survey has been done in the north of England and it is hoped that when it is finished the results can be published as a book with maps.

The Moors in the National Park are owned by a relatively small number of individuals and estates. This brings both problems and opportunities. The problem for the owner of a very large estate is to know just what various conservation designations have been made – SSSIs, TPOs, Section 3 moorland, scheduling, and listing etc. Even on the most conservation-minded estate it is easy to overlook one small notification when there are so many. From the conservationist's point of view it is easier to deal with one large estate than lots of different landowners. This is the opportunity which presents itself to a National park authority like the North

York Moors which can provide a lot of the necessary basic information and advice for landowners.

It would be possible to do a similar conservation survey on other large estates on the moors. In some cases private landowners can be compensated for conserving their land for landscape, ecological or historical reasons in return for Inheritance Tax exemption. One of the earliest examples in England was the Bransdale estate, although no archaeological survey has been undertaken there yet. There is a possibility that there may be others in the Park in the next few years. The Forestry Commission these days is very conservation-minded and its large local landholding includes numerous monuments and historic areas. From its own management point of view it would be useful to have up-to-date information on the archaeology of its forests.

Work was done in the early stages of the last Park Plan Review on identifying important areas of historic landscape (Fig. 1) with help from a number of people including John McDonnell, Don Spratt and Blaise Vyner. The National Park owns one of the most significant estates for archaeology, Levisham and Lockton Moors, and is keen to conserve and interpret it. A few years ago the Park helped publish some excavations carried out there by the Scarborough Archaeological Society and more recently it repaired a fold and beeld there. It is hoped to take up one of the new English Heritage grants for a Presentation Survey to be carried out. Detailed survey work has also been carried out recently on the rather puzzling earthworks around Whorlton Castle by the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments, again as a preliminary to conservation and interpretation.

One way or another it looks as though the Park will be carrying out further archaeological survey over the coming years. However it is not survey for the sake of survey. The main purpose is to provide an overall picture of the archaeology of the area as a basis for deciding priorities for conservation, interpretation and further research. It is particularly gratifying to work in this area where there has been such a good tradition of field survey, so well exemplified by Raymond Hayes.

*Editor's note: Mr. Iles, the first archaeologist to be appointed by the National Park, has now departed to take up a post with English Heritage. His successor is Graham Lee.*



## Forty years of research in a Wolds parish

by P. A. Rahtz, M.A., F.S.A., M.I.F.A.,  
Emeritus Professor, University of York

Wharram Percy has been the subject of excavation and research since 1950. 1990 sees the end of forty years of work, though publication and further research in the surrounding townships will continue. The excavation has been one of the longest running in British archaeology, and remarkably it has been supervised by the same two directors, Maurice Beresford and John Hurst.

The former is an eminent historian of the middle ages, especially well known for his integration of written sources with that of the landscape and aerial photographs. He recently retired from the chair he held at the University of Leeds. Beresford has never married, and this has enabled him to pursue an academic career and extensive travel without any other distractions. John Hurst, on the other hand, has been a civil servant all his working life, until his recent retirement. I first met him in the early 1950's when he was a junior inspector responsible for the administration of my first professional excavations in the Chew Valley, Somerset. Successively in the Ministry of Works, the Department of the Environment, and British Heritage, he rose to be a Senior Inspector of Ancient Monuments – a job which involves far more than looking at ruins! He is one of Europe's leading authorities on medieval and later ceramics. He married in 1955 (his wife Gill worked with me on excavations at that time), but sadly he became a widower in the 1960's. His elder daughter, Francesca, now looks after the administration of Wharram Percy.

Beresford and Hurst are however jointly best known for their combined historical/archaeological research into medieval rural settlement, notably deserted medieval villages, on which they have written widely. Both have been honoured by being awarded Fellowships of the British Academy, and by having a joint festschrift dedicated to them in 1989. The presentation of this to them in July of last year was one of the highlights of the Wharram Percy season. As with many such offerings, it was a surprise to them – they never knew it was being written!

Wharram Percy is on the western part of the High Wold Chalk. It was chosen for investigation because it had exceptionally well-preserved earthworks of medieval peasant houses. In 1950 only two people remained living there, in a cottage. The church of St. Martin had survived because it served a wider area, and continued to be a focus of burial until the first war. The last service was held there in 1949, and it was by then in a bad state; there were tattered remnants of the church bible, dust, dead birds, and a general air of neglect.

Wharram was chosen too because of its excellent documentation, which extended back to pre-Conquest times. Most of the more recent documents were in the care of successive Lords Middleton at Birdsall.

Initially interest in the site was centred on the peasant houses (Wrathmell 1989), and one of these earthworks was chosen for detailed excavation over the whole of the 1950's (Andrews and Milne eds. 1987). It was shown there had been several successive houses between the 13th and 15th centuries. Together with most of the older parts of the village, this house was abandoned. The causes for all these village desertions are complex; but at Wharram it seems to have been a combination of economic change (grain/wool prices), labour problems following the 14th century plagues, climatic change, and drift to the towns.

To everyone's surprise, however, the sequence of peasant houses did not extend backwards into Norman and Saxon times as had been hoped; as the excavation progressed, the stone-built undercroft of a medieval manor house appeared. It was known there had been two manors, sometimes in the possession of the Percy and Chamberlain families, but their location was unknown.

It was now clear that this was one of them, and that there had been quite radical changes in village planning; this manor house was abandoned in the 13th century and its site given over to peasant farmsteads.

Another peasant house was now excavated, and this one did have a series of rebuildings going back to Anglo-Saxon times, when the house was wholly of timber.

Research horizons had by the 1960's been widened, incorporating the new evidence for village planning and the manorial overlordship. It was further expanded by the partial collapse of the church in 1959. The church had deteriorated further since 1950 because of vandalism and lack of maintenance. The tower collapse necessitated work to make the rest safe, and the archaeologists were faced with the problem of dealing with the pile of rubble, which included many carved stones and re-used medieval grave stones.

It had never been the intention of the directors to become involved in church archaeology; indeed they had deliberately avoided it. The archaeology of the peasant houses was seen as a welcome change from the concentration on medieval military and ecclesiastical remains – castles, abbeys, churches, monuments, brasses, stained glass, etc. – which had been the principal study of medieval archaeologists since Victorian times. Now, however, the study of the church was incorporated into the research strategy, and it was totally excavated, together with a large part of its cemetery. It is not normally possible to excavate churches in use, so it was useful to be able to elucidate the whole history of the church; the present structure was seen to be the final stage in a series of churches which began in Anglo-Saxon times.

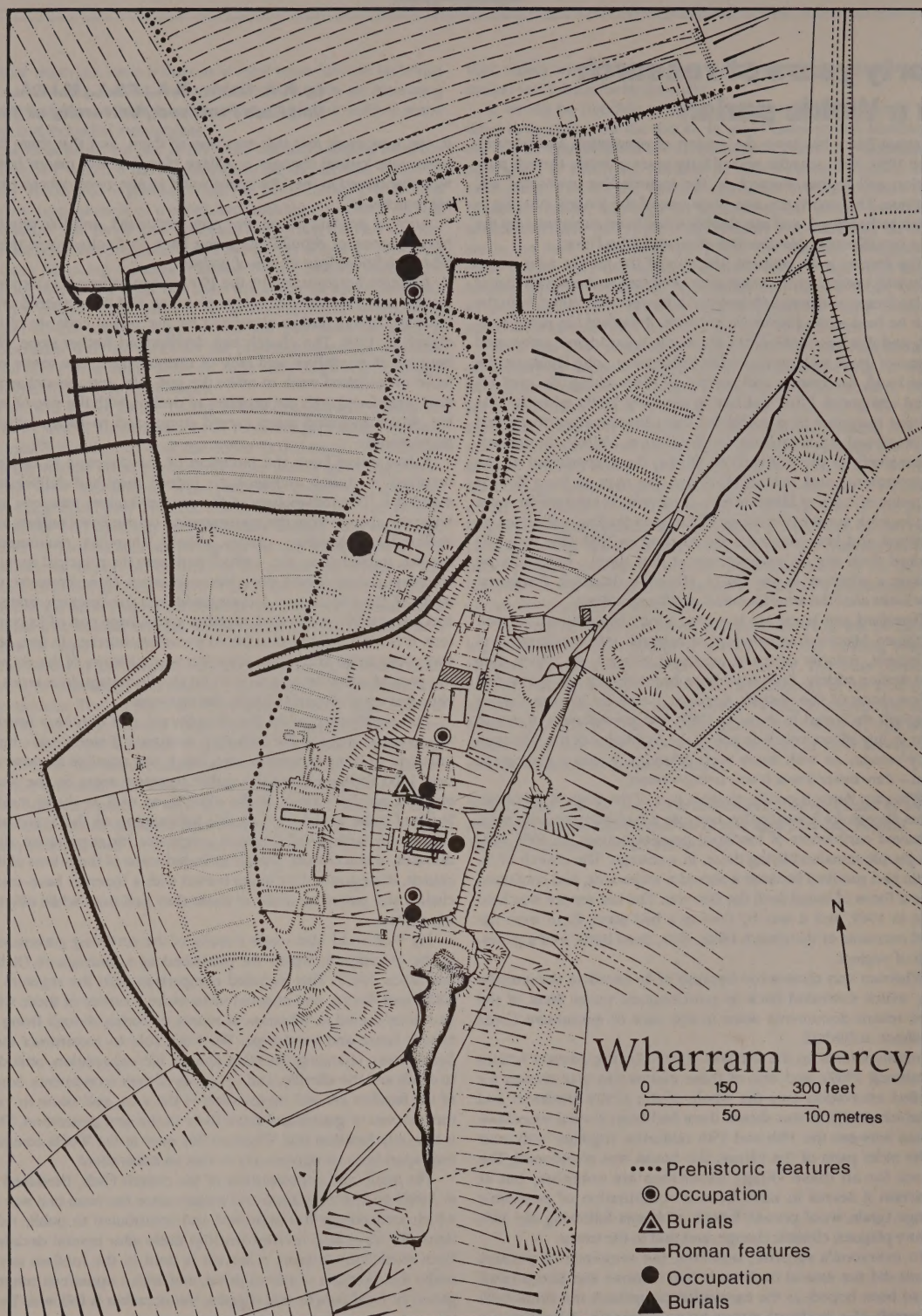
The southern part of the churchyard still contains several dozen gravestones of the 18th–20th centuries. It would have been unethical to have excavated here; but it was possible to excavate over 1000 skeletons from the earlier cemetery areas on the western and northern sides of the church, as well as those inside. Study of these is yielding valuable information on the Saxon and medieval inhabitants of Wharram – their size, life expectation, diet, diseases, and accidents. Burials included some of the priests of the church, distinguished by being buried with a funerary base-metal chalice and paten, symbolic of those they had used while officiating at Mass.

My wife and I also made a study of the surviving gravestones in the churchyard, which we published as a monograph (Rahtz and Watts 1983). This included comparison with the registers of births and deaths, and enabled us to make a survey of those who had been buried at Wharram in recent centuries, though living in nearby farms and townships. We were able to reconstruct their family trees, changing Christian names, life expectation, attitudes to death and the afterlife, and the styles of their monuments. Some of the families are still represented in the area, and come to visit their ancestors' graves and show them to the new generation. This is the only function that Wharram has now in the Wolds community, apart from an opportunity to visit an excavation!

The study and consolidation of the church (Bell, Beresford et al. 1988) and its restoration and maintenance has been one way in which archaeology has improved and contributed to public relations. We have also revived worship there after several decades. Each excavation season, a service is held in the roofless nave, under the direction of a local priest, and with a numerous congregation of local people and diggers; the occasion is followed by a tea-party.

Research continued in the 1970's with the excavation of the site of the watermill by the stream. There had been Saxon and





Plan of the area of the deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy showing prehistoric and Roman features which largely determined the outline plan of the medieval village



medieval mills here, of which little remained, having been destroyed by flooding, later fishponds, and finally a sheep-dip. Another operation which attracted much public approval was the rebuilding of the medieval dam and reconstruction of the fishpond. This now makes an attractive landscape feature, with the church reflected in its water on still days; it has become a favourite place for picnics; and now by 1990 looks as if it has always been there!

An important event took place in the 1970's, when the whole village site was taken into Guardianship; this ensures the safety of the site in perpetuity. It also enabled wider study than had been possible before, and also (what has become very important personally to John Hurst), the creation of an ecological reserve, where orchids and other flora, small mammals and birds can flourish; and where the nostalgia of the pre-war Wolds landscape, now mostly changed by modern agriculture, can be recaptured in microcosm.

The wider exploration, by sampling in small trenches, together with aerial and geophysical survey, brought another surprise. The site was shown to have been in existence as a settlement not only in early Anglo-Saxon times, but further back to Roman, Iron Age and earlier prehistoric origins. This gave a wider perspective to the whole enterprise, making it possible to study Wolds settlement through time, rather than just in the medieval period. These potentialities were what in 1978 attracted me and my new department at the University of York to join in the work as part of our own research, and as a training school for our students. We chose as our area of operations earthworks at the north end of the village which were not peasant houses; they had rather been interpreted as the earthworks of one of the manors already referred to. And so they proved to be; but underneath them was evidence of a substantial Roman settlement, including a corn-drier and possibly even a villa; and earlier still, the massive ditches of a defended late Iron Age settlement. It seems that this area was the site, not of continuous peasant settlement, but of an aristocratic nucleus of successive overlords of the settlement.

The only break in the sequence here was in the post-Roman period. A hollow way, in use in the Iron Age and Roman periods, was abandoned as a route, and in it were built two early Anglo-Saxon peasant houses; but later the route was resumed as the medieval road to Malton.

At the other end of the time sequence, research interests gradually extended into other village buildings and into post-medieval times. The medieval and later vicarages were excavated, and also the 19th century farm under and around the surviving cottages (these have been useful as excavation headquarters).

Further excavations confirmed the presence of prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon features in all parts of the site, including what may be the site of an Anglo-Saxon manor house of the 8th-9th centuries, though this would be an anachronistic name for an aristocratic nucleus of this period. Work also began in the surrounding area. Colin Hayfield has developed an extensive programme of field-work and excavation in the townships of Wharram Parish, showing that they too have Roman or earlier origins (Hayfield 1987). This, and deep ploughing, led to the discovery of two Roman villas within a few kilometres of Wharram Percy; at one, at Wharram-le-Street, chunks of mosaic were being disturbed by the plough.

The threat to both villas led to exploratory work by Colin Hayfield and the York department. Digging and geophysical survey enabled their complex plans to be delineated, and some idea of the dating range and materials used, to be recovered (Rahtz, Hayfield and Bateman 1986). At Wharram-le-Street, we had the additional bonus of a Mesolithic site close to the source of the Gypsy Race, one of the few streams in the dry Wolds landscape.

Forty years' work has thus been highly informative about the

archaeology and history of the Wolds landscape; and yet only 6% of the Guardianship area has been excavated; so there is ample scope for future archaeologists with improved techniques.

Wharram has not, however, been merely an academic exercise. It has become 'The Wharram Experience', in which hundreds of people have participated, extending into three generations. Most archaeology nowadays is done by professional staff in urban or regional units, or by academics from universities with their students. Wharram is probably the last in which the annual three-week season is carried out by amateurs, about a hundred people from several countries. They and the staff receive only their food in return for long days in the two extremes which Wharram so frequently provides – baking sun or sheeting freezing rain.

The season is more than an excavation, it is a social event, with a programme of excursions, evening lectures, and birthday parties; there are two extra weekends in the year, with fireworks at the autumn one; and a reunion in London each December (a very grand one!)

It is not easy to keep an enterprise such as Wharram Percy going for so long with such high morale. That it has done so is due to the particular joint charisma of Beresford and Hurst, who have not only supervised the annual field activities, but have ensured the production of a steady stream of publications – Wharram now figures in over a hundred monographs and articles, the latter are not only in learned journals such as the *Ryedale Historian*, but also in more popular periodicals such as *Country Life*, etc. A popular book is currently in preparation by them in the Batsford archaeology series.

It is appropriate in such a long-running excavation, that archaeologists have created their own archaeology. In recent work for a new route through the site, some of the rubbish pits dug by the diggers in the 1950's were uncovered. They were carefully excavated, to reveal many items of modern material culture (as it is called nowadays) – old mugs, tins, and even John Hurst's old sandals. From all these it would be possible to build up by archaeological inference a picture of life at Wharram in the days of Beresford and Hurst; but perhaps it would be quicker just to ask them!

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## An old Bilsdale Family

by W. C. Ainsley

The Ainsleys of Bilsdale could not claim to be by any means one of the oldest families there, but they have been in the dale for at least 285 years. I begin this history of the family with John Ainsley in 1704; before that there had been Aseleys/Aysleys recorded at St. Hilda's, Bilsdale, 1591 – 1615, and there were a number of families with several different spellings in nearby parts of Cleveland, 1563 – 1665, but it has not yet been possible to trace a connection of any of them with John who in October 1704 married Joan Rain at St. Hilda's.

### (1) Scotland (perhaps), and Bank House and Cock Flatt Farms.

There is a very strong tradition in several of the present-day branches of the family that their ancestors were from the Stirling area of Scotland, that they were closely connected with the breeding of shorthorn cattle around there, and that they came south to escape the consequences of one or other of the Jacobite Risings, of which there were several from 1689 to the '1745' of Bonnie Prince Charlie. One Ainsley brother is said to have come to Warlaby near Northallerton, bringing with him a shorthorn herd which survived for many years and of which there is evidence in the form of an aquatint of 'Yorkshire Rose' bred by John Ainsley of Otterington House near Northallerton (and a mile from Warlaby) in 1834; a second brother (and a third one of whom we have never found any trace) is said to have come to Bank House, Bilsdale, which was a small, very isolated farm, north of Chop Gate – and a very suitable place of refuge for anyone wanting to avoid attracting attention; it is with this brother and his apparent descendants that this article is concerned. No Ainsleys are mentioned in estate records which cover almost the whole of the dale, till 1781, so if they were in the dale at all it was presumably not as farmers, at least until nearly that year; this therefore leaves open the possibility that John might have come south not long before 1704, and this possibility is supported by several factors which accord with the family traditions.

A John Rain is recorded at Bank House in 1695, and was buried 28/5/1704. It seems therefore very reasonable to think that Joan Rain whom John Ainsley married on 3/10/1704 was one of the Bank House family, – either the widow or a daughter. John Ainsley could have come to the dale after the 1689 Rising, probably being acquainted with the dale and even with Bank House as a result of using the drove roads by which cattle were brought on foot for centuries from Scotland to the big markets of England.

Joan died in 1726, and we do not know of any children, but 4 years later a John Ainsley who might have been a son of John and Joan – or even the widower himself re-marrying – married Margaret Leyng. In 1700 the Lengs had been farming Cock Flatt, a larger farm which lies between Chop Gate and Bank House, and it is likely that Margaret was one of that family; her husband is believed to be the John who died in 1737, but they had already had 3 children – a son John born in 1730, followed by two daughters. In those days it was a common practice to keep tenancies in the same family if possible – if a tenant died leaving no son available to carry on, a son-in-law or some other close relation would do so (this would suit a landlord, who did not have to look for a suitable 'incomer' who in any case would not easily have been accepted by his neighbours); so it seems evident that either John the father, or John the son when old enough, took over the running of Cock Flatt, and this would be before 1768 because that was the year in which an Ainsley child was born there. We do not know where John born 1730 spent his early years, but his fifth child, Richard, was born at Cock Flatt in 1768, followed by four more there. He made his Will in 1802, naming his wife Alice as executrix, and in it he names individually all his eight surviving

children. He died in 1807 at Cock Flatt, and his Will contained information which may be taken as confirming family tradition, at least to some extent, in that it says: "Whereas all my children have received all or nearly all of their fortunes I give to each of them ....."(small amounts of cash varying from one guinea to five pounds). We take this to imply that more substantial sums had been available for distribution earlier, so the question arises as to whether he made it all at Cock Flatt, or received it through his mother's family, the Lengs – or, had it been brought from Scotland? (though the brothers are said to have had to leave their property behind them when they fled south).

At this point it is interesting to note that the population of Bilsdale in 1813 was 939, and that:

John, born 1730, had 9 children 1760–1777, including a son John;

this son John, born 1760, had 10 children born 1784 – 1800, including a son called William;

this William, born 1785, had 15 born 1825 – 1852, including a Stephen born 1835;

and that this Stephen had 9 children, born 1873 – 1890, and that all these were born in Bilsdale.

Of the eight surviving children of John and Alice, John born 1760 was the eldest and will be dealt with later in connection with Low Crosset Farm. The next, William born 1762, acted as witness at the marriages of his two brothers John and Thomas in 1784 and 1786 respectively, but we know nothing more about him or any marriage or children – though he was about the right age to have possibly been the William who had six children at Great Ayton 1787 – 1800. Thomas settled at Urra, married Hannah Garbutt and had 9 children, all born there; some descendants now run an old-established bakery business in Leeds under the family name. Richard born 1768, and Mary born 1772, are two of whom we have no further relevant information. Peggy married William Priestman and they had a daughter at Hawnby in 1816, then a son in Bilsdale in 1818. James married Mary Parkinson, and their daughter Betty was born at Spout House in 1798 – the first recorded Ainsley at Spout House known to us; they had a son John born there the following year; James however was not the licensee, as Stephen Hoggard who had held the licence for many years continued to hold it till 1882. James' wife died 1805, and he remarried about two years later and had children at Fangdale Beck and Grange. Stephen born 1769, was the son to whom John of Cock Flatt left his 'implements of husbandry' because he was still at home, unmarried, and because at least three of his older brothers had already settled down elsewhere; when his father died in 1807, Stephen carried on the farm till 1849, after having, at the age of 52, married Martha Young, aged 20. Stephen in his turn was succeeded by his son, another Stephen, who married Hannah Hoggart and farmed till about 1878 being then succeeded by his own son John William who was recorded as "Head" at Cock Flatt in 1881 with his wife, another Hannah Garbutt, after which we have no further records of the Ainsleys of Cock Flatt.

### (2) Low Crosset Farm.

The story of Low Crosset. and of Spout House, appears to begin with John born 1760, the first child of John and Alice of Cock Flatt. In 1784 he married Hannah Atkinson, and because Atkinsons at about that time were farming both High Crosset and Low Crosset it looks pretty certain that Hannah belonged to one of those families as all the children of John and Hannah were born at Low Crosset – except William who was born at High Crosset. John presumably took over as son-in-law of the previous tenant in the same way as his father and mother had taken over



Cock Platt some forty years earlier.

John farmed till his death in 1839. He was then succeeded, not by his eldest son William born 1785 who had taken on the Inn licence in 1822 and whose part in this history is dealt with later, but his son John born 1788. John did not marry, so his household was looked after by unmarried nieces; he died 1865. At that stage, my grandfather James, who was William's son and had been born at Spout House 1845 but had moved over to his Uncle John's at Low Crosset when about five years of age (probably because of over-crowding at Spout House), would be only 20 and not old enough to take on the tenancy; so John was succeeded as "Head" at Low Crosset by William from the Inn who at the 1871 Census was described as "Head" aged 85. His In Memoriam Card shows that he died at the farm in 1878, aged 92. The next "Head" was my grandfather, James, who in 1867 had married Jane Wheldon who had been born at Hawnby 1847 but who at the 1851 Census was with her parents and several other children at Timberholme near Laskill; their two surviving children were my father, William, 1872-1949, and my Aunt, Hannah, 1869 - 1953. At the 1881 Census, James had with him at Low Crosset, besides his own family, a nephew Henry (Ned) only three years younger than himself who had also come over from Spout House some years earlier (and no doubt for the same reason), together with Henry's wife Sarah (Sally) nee Atkinson and their first child, Fred; also another nephew Joseph, aged 9, later of Gillamoor. Another nephew, John Atkinson, had been with them but had left before 1881.

But in 1882, because of the increased rents and after what had been a very difficult decade for farmers, and because they needed more land - Low Crosset being only 70 acres - James and his family, with Henry and his family, and nephew Joseph, all moved to Kirby Sigston near Northallerton, the former to Smithy Farm of 166 acres which he farmed for 40 years, and Henry to Brook House, a smaller farm about half-a-mile away from James. My father, then aged 10, helped to drive their cattle all the way!

From 1882, Low Crosset has been farmed by other members of the family or by relations, like the Dales and the Atkinsons, most of the time up to now. A John Atkinson was farming it in 1890, another Atkinson in 1900, and a John Dale in 1905; all these being almost certainly related to the Ainsleys by marriage. When the Bilsdale Estate was sold in 1944, Low Crosset was bought by a doctor who soon afterwards sold it to William Edward Ainsley of Spout House; the latter's widow was probably at Low Crosset for some time before retiring to Fangdale Beck till her death in 1983; Low Crosset is now farmed by Edward Basil Ainsley, son of William Edward.

Whilst at Low Crosset as a boy, my grandfather probably attended the little school at Fangdale Beck - which still survives as a village hall - and his "Arithmetic Book - Bilsdale Anno Domini 1859" is very well written and laid out; one page is of particular interest, showing in very fine copper-plate writing all the "Ale and Beer Measures", which were no doubt those in use at the time at Spout House. Ainsleys have had a lot to do with the Bilsdale Hunt, founded over 300 years ago by the second Duke of Buckingham. The Sun Inn ("Spout House") was the headquarters of the Hunt for considerable periods; my grandfather, as a boy, remembered how, when the conditions were suitable for a hunt, the huntsman would blow his horn and the message would be passed up the dale and down the dale by other supporters, so that an hour or so later they would all be gathered together and ready to set off - this was long before the days of William's work with the hounds. James retained his interest in the hounds all his life and whilst farming at Kirby Sigston he used to train hounds for the Hurworth Hunt and received a number of presentations for this work, including a silver cigarette box, a silver cream jug and sugar bowl, and a French marble clock which still keeps excellent time; each of these had a inscription bearing his name, the name

and year of the hound, and the name of the Hunt. After being a ploughboy at Low Crosset, he later won ploughing prizes; in 1912 he judged ploughing and 'roots' for Stokesley Ploughing and Hedge-cutting Society, and the Darlington and Stockton Times carried an article in 1914 about Bilsdale's "wonderful ploughmen", mentioning Bob Garbutt (80 odd), William Noble (about 70), and James Ainsley who with his team "surely set up a record - he follows the plough quite regularly at 70 years of age, his team horses are 30 and 24 respectively, while the plough he uses is over 50 years old and is that with which he won a championship prize at Bilsdale half-a-century ago". A memory of a different kind concerns the Wainstones in Bilsdale - he said the origin of the name was a corruption of "women-stones", so called by the people of the dale at that time because from some view-point the rocks resembled a group of women chattering together.

And James had other interests. We have his document of appointment dated 30/3/1870 when he was 25, by Justices at Kirby Moorside, as Constable for Bilsdale Midcable under the Parish Constables Act, 5 & 6 Vict. cap.109 Form VIII, and he told me that his appointment under that Act was the last under it - meaning probably the last for Bilsdale Midcable. We also have his Licence from Inland Revenue Sunderland Office dated 13/1/1874 to keep "Horses 10/6d and "Dogs 5/-"

. He used to take cattle on foot from Low Crosset to York for sale and we have his pocket gold-scales which he used for weighing gold sovereigns and half-sovereigns offered to him in payment; in those days such coins were often "clipped", rendering them under-weight and not acceptable; the gold so obtained was then used illegally for other purposes.

It is via James that we of the present generation have received a number of items handed down by the bachelor John who died 1865 and which had probably been used by his parents before him, such as a delft-rack, a grandfather's clock, genuine old pewter dinner-plate and jug, china, and old family papers, letters, and books; the papers and letters have been of great help in working out the family tree and clarifying parts of the family tradition. My father, William 1872-1949, had attended Fangdale Beck Sunday School until the whole family left Low Crosset in 1882 when he was 10, and we have three little story-books presented to him for good attendance; before he was 25 he had read Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation and become a Roman Catholic as a consequence - we still have the book.

To return to the other sons of John and Hannah, Low Crosset: Thomas, born 1792, had children who were connected with the Darlington area, including Thomas born 1837 who went as a Volunteer to the Indian Mutiny at the age of 20 but was too late to take part in the actual fighting; he remained in the Army for a number of years and when he died at Darlington in 1915 he was given military honours at his funeral; the Press report included a large number of names with the relationships of the mourners which eventually gave us great help in working out the family tree. This son Thomas had one son who "attained considerable distinction as a musician in America" (Vancouver) and another, Joseph, Secretary of the then Cleveland Car Company, Darlington, was a prolific painter in oils. Another son of Thomas 1792 was John who married Jane Hart of Urra in 1857 - was she possibly related to the John Hart who put the Latin inscription on the large boulder stone in Tripsdale near Urra? - in English it is:

All things are full of the Creator.

John Hart, a man of Bilsdale, 1849.

My grandfather had an "old Uncle Stephen of Glaisdale" who is believed to be Stephen born 1794, son of John and Hannah, and to be the one described in an 1823 Directory as an "Academic" at Marske (Saltburn); he had established a 'school' there, and employed in it his younger brother Richard (born 1800) till the latter's early death at 25; the Card for the school quotes the cost of

various classes in "Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, Merchants' Accounts, Geometry, Mensuration, Gauging, Land-surveying, plane and spherical Trigonometry, Navigation, Conic Sections, Geography, and the use of the Globes". Stephen does not seem to have stayed long at Marske, possibly because his brother's death in 1825 may have made it too difficult for him to carry on without Richard's help. It is thought that Stephen's later connection with Glaisdale came through his becoming Land Agent for the then Lord Boyne of Glaisdale, a job for which his academic qualifications would be very useful. On 14/1/1825 Stephen wrote a 3-page letter "To Mr. John Ainsley, Bilsdale: Dear Parents ...." all about the illness of his brother Richard; four months later, Richard was dead and buried from Low Crosset 25/5/1825. Stephen also wrote a two and a half page poem "Death's Warrant" addressed to "Richard Ainsley, Bilsdale" – a rather lugubrious item to send to anyone as ill as Richard must have been, though everything points to them having all known for some time that the illness was going to prove fatal. We also have a system of "Secret Codes" signed S. Ainsley, in the same style of handwriting, using (1) the alphabet, and (2) numbers. We have a story about a Stephen, believed to be this one, that he had been in one of the armed services and was presented with a medal by Queen Victoria; when he got home from the ceremony, he said about his wife: if he dressed her up in Queen Victoria's finery, she would be as good as the Queen!

This same Richard has been known to us as "The Scholar", and we have some of his books, principally very scholarly ones of the Latin Classics such as Ovid, Virgil, and Sallust, published 1789, 1817, and 1820; these have been passed down by my grandfather who had them "from an Uncle Richard" who "had a boarding-school at Redcar (=Marske) and who died young". An important unsolved question for us is: where did Stephen and Richard get all their learning on such advanced subjects? It leads one to think that perhaps they had a different background than normal farming – did it possibly have anything to do with Scottish origins?

James, born 1797, was another Low Crosset son; he was still there at 1841 Census, as a labourer with his brother John, the "Head", but he married sometime afterwards and by 1851 he and his wife Mary were at Bank house where they spent the rest of their lives, James dying at 78 and Mary at 66. They had no family. Tradition has it that one James was "a big gambler" but we do not know whether it was he or James of Fangdale Beck and Grange of the previous generation.

Joseph, also a Low Crosset boy, was born 1790. He married Ann Hartas of Farndale at Kirby Moorside where some of their children were born, later ones being born at Stokesley. In 1838 he paid 2/- to the Churchwardens at Stokesley on his house – the rate was 1d in the £. On 26/2/1847 he wrote from Stokesley to his brother John, Bilsdale, (who could only be the unmarried one at Low Crosset) about their brother Thomas and the state of the latter's financial affairs – Thomas had a farm but was having problems about £100 which he had borrowed; Joseph's letter also referred to the serious illness ("strong symptoms of consumption") of "Nanny" – his wife Ann; she died six weeks later. John ended his letter "Give my love to Mother" – she would be Hannah of Low Crosset, a widow since 1839, and she died the same year, 1847, 31st. August, aged 79. Between 1861 and 1871, Joseph married a second time, Mary of Sunderland. About 1870 – 1875 Joseph wrote from West Hartlepool to his nephew my grandfather James, asking for a loan of a Latin Dictionary (which was no doubt one left by Richard who had died at 25 as mentioned above); it was for use by Thomas George Ainsley (Joseph's grandson) who was studying to be a doctor. Thomas George began a long and important connection of nearly a dozen members of the family over a period of say 80 years with the Hartlepool Health Authorities, he himself becoming President of their local section of

the British Medical Association in 1903 and being followed in that position in later years by his son Dr. Alan Colpitts Ainsley, M.C., also by his brother-in-law Dr. H. M. McGill. A brother of Thomas George was Frederick William who helped to found the timber business of F. W. Ainsley & Co. Ltd. which is still in existence in Hartlepool though no longer controlled by the Ainsleys. Another brother of Thomas George was John Colpitts Ainsley, born 1860, who after leaving farming at Kirby Sigston with my grandfather emigrated to California where he founded and developed the J. C. Ainsley Fruit Packing Company which became one of the largest canneries in the western United States; his descendants have recently offered his house "Ainsley House", to their city as a new home for the Campbell Historical Museum. A great-grand-daughter of Joseph married Frank Raine who about two years ago, at the age of 90, gave an interview lasting some hours for the recording of his still vivid memories of the Somme Campaign of 1916, for the Imperial War Museum, London. Joseph had another son, John, who laid the foundations for another present-day branch of the family near Leeds.

### (3) Spout House – the "Sun Inn"

The eldest son of John and Hannah of Low Crosset was William, born 1785, who in 1822 took on the licence of the Inn, following Stephen Hoggard who had been the landlord for 57 years. In 1824 William married Amelia Hunton, daughter of a weaver at Fangdale Beck, and they had a family of fifteen; luckily they did not all have to be accommodated in the Inn at the same time because when the later ones arrived some of the older ones were already married and away; two had died, and at the 1851 Census three were with relatives elsewhere in the dale, including Nanny born 1828 who was house-keeping for her unmarried Uncle John at Low Crosset. Nevertheless, accommodation must have been a problem when visitors were to be catered for, including shooting or hunting parties of the owners of the estate.

So far as is known, William held the licence till 1865 when he took over as "Head" of Low Crosset till he died there at 92 in 1878. At the Inn, he was followed by his son-in-law, Nicholas Spink, for a few years; Nicholas, whose parents farmed at Hasty Bank, had married Nanny, William's daughter, in 1851. After the death of "Old Bobbie Dowson", the old Bilsdale fox-hunting 'whip' in 1902 at the age of 86, Nicholas who had led the way at the funeral claimed the honour of having become the new 'oldest member of the Hunt'. We have what is believed to be a relic of William; it appears to have been intended for the front cover, gaily decorated, of a small book "William Ainsley, His Book of Psalmody Anno 1809"; at the bottom is written in fine copper-plate writing "William Ainsley Anno Domini 1809" – but on the back are 9 lines of rhyme in similar writing but being mostly skits on his own name – Will and Bill! We also have a very good old photo which is believed to be of him, taken probably when he was approaching his nineties – it shows a man of great character and very considerable age and dressed in a style of very long ago.

William was first of a series of Williams which continues at the Inn to the present day. His son William 1829–1905 married Ruth Arcoat and was licensee at the 1861 Census; the next William 1865–1950 who married Dorothy Ann Barr of the Laverock Hall family is thought to have been connected with the Bilsdale Hounds but he was also Secretary of Spout House Cricket Club for 72 years, presumably from the age of 12 till his death at 84. About 1975, there was a very good TV documentary lasting about twenty minutes, showing the team at play on their somewhat bumpy field at Spout House – the family features are very recognisable! His daughter Margaret Edna, born 1910, was the last Ainsley to be born at the old Inn, and another daughter, Ruth Hannah, had



been 'the little girl kneeling in the window of the Inn lounge' in the well-known 1895 painting. William Edward was the next licensee (born 1893, died 1953) and had the hounds from 1929 till his death when he was succeeded as Huntsman by his son Edward Basil for three years; mourners at his funeral included a number from the fox-hunting world – Lady Feversham (Sinnington Hunt), Lady Marjorie Becket, Mr. P. A. Furness (Hurworth Hunt) and Mr. Herbert Agar (Farndale Hunt). I have been told that his widow, Margaret Eleanor, nee Warriner, held the licence for some time before going over to Low Crosset and finally to Fangdale Beck till her death in 1983. When the Bilsdale Estate was broken up by sale in 1944, William Edward had bought the Inn and the farm, and later bought Low Crosset. Following the sale in 1944, the Press carried fanciful reports of how the Ainsley family had been at the Inn for 500 years, etc., but these were later dismissed very scathingly by a member of a different branch of the family; however the Inn may have been in existence in 1637 and was first licenced in 1714, so there might have been Ainsleys of the female line involved; for example, an Aseley girl had married a Kirke of Spout House in 1604 and it might have been an Inn then.

Two brothers of William Edward were James, 1904–1976, said to have been 'a great character', and John Arcoat who was blinded by gas in World War I but fortunately recovered his sight after treatment at Duncombe Park Hospital; he was probably the John Ainsley shown in a large photo in the Times 1968 using the old-fashioned hay-making methods alongside some contrasting modern machinery. His son, Douglas, a retired game-keeper living at Grange, found clinkers in his garden and nearby fields which were evidence of iron-smelting having been carried on there by Rievaulx Abbey, who also made tiles in the area.

The present licensee is William George, whose family includes a son William Martyn George.

Of the other children of William the first licensee, my grandfather James has already been written about above in connection with Low Crosset. A daughter Mary married William Dale, and they had five sons; after his death she married John Atkinson. Several other daughters married, mostly into local families including another Atkinson (William), Garbutt, Leng, Allenby, & Armstrong. A son Stephen, 1835–1910, worked first at Breckon Hill with his widowed sister Mary Dale, then, at the 1871 Census, he was farming Cow Helm with his youngest sister Emma as housekeeper; in the same year he married Charity Featherstone and sometimes after the 1881 Census they moved to Eller Bridge, and three of their daughters were married from there: Emma married Joseph Wheldon, 1901; Jane married W. J. Hill 1903; and Margaret married Herbert Allison 1914. Their youngest son, Harry, lost his life at Salonika in the first World War in 1917, and his name is on the Chop Gate War Memorial. A very attractive coloured postcard, dating probably from 1910–1920, shows two houses at Eller Bridge beyond a little stream, one being the home of Stephen and Charity; apparently Charity was a 'real character', fond of a gossip to such an extent that when she went to draw water every day at the communal tap or spring, her neighbour, also needing water, would wait for Charity to return home first rather than risk 'getting caught'!

Finally there are a number of houses in Bilsdale not previously mentioned, where Ainsleys are known to have been long ago, not as farmers but as workers or as having lived there for a while or having died there; amongst them are Aigret (Akit?), Broadfield, Carr Cote, Conisor, Hawterley (Orterley), Locton, Low Crosslets (west of Chop Gate), the Mount (Urra), Northwood, and Oak House (Urra); and of course the female lines connected us with many more.

Quite a few Ainsleys not already mentioned have served in the armed forces, for instance several descendants of Henry (Ned, of

Spout House, Low Crosset, and Kirby Sigston) whose son Harry survived the first World War;— we have two cards from him, censored, 'somewhere up the line' in France 1915 and 1917. Ned's grandson Ted who is retired from the Navy, was in much of the desperate fighting of the Crete campaign (and elsewhere) in the 1939–1945 war, and two of Ned's Australian great-grandsons were in the Navy.

All the Ainsleys of Bilsdale of whom I have any knowledge are on our largish family tree, the sole exception being two Ainsley girls, Lily and a sister whose name we do not know, who both emigrated to Australia in 1913. We have a long letter sent by Lily very shortly after her arrival there, telling about the voyage and about her experience in finding a job; they were obviously from Bilsdale, as Lily wrote of being "Home-sick for Bilsdale" and they knew my grandfather James and Hannah, my aunt, very well and were apparently related to them. But the letter gives no help whatever as to where they belonged in Bilsdale or about the family they came from; we have found nothing in the records either, so if anyone can help us with the desired information it will be most welcome.

Also welcome would be any other relevant information or corrections which readers may like to let me have about the 'Ainsleys of Bilsdale' – to: Mr. W. C. Ainsley, 98 Grosvenor Road, Birkenhead, please, – though I would like to stress that I would prefer corrections to be supported by evidence rather than by 'family tradition', as the latter has proved somewhat untrustworthy up to now, to say the least.

I take this opportunity to thank very sincerely all those who have over many years provided the vast amount of information on which this article is based

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# Monastic agriculture: a farmer's view, with special reference to Byland Abbey

by F. J. Banks

"Farming is dealing with the problems and restraints associated with the production of food."

This definition, by a college lecturer, pokes fun at the supposedly ever grumbling farmer and is not the one we find in the dictionary. Nevertheless, farmers throughout the ages would regard this as the most concise and complete definition of all.

If we accept this as a valid definition it can be said farming has changed dramatically since early monastic times and that today's farmers can have little conception of early medieval farming. This is only partly true. Most of the changes in methods date from the adoption of sophisticated machinery and chemicals in the period 1940 – 1960. Those of us who remember the 1930s have experienced similar circumstances to those which existed in the previous 800 years.

More importantly, whatever changes have taken place in the methods of dealing with them, the problems and restraints have remained identical throughout.

Many historians have written extensively on monastic farming. Two in particular, Bryan Waites and R. A. Donkin, have studied this part of Yorkshire, with Donkin specialising in the organisation of Cistercian farming. However, there is very little among the historical information available which throws light on everyday farming problems and how they were solved. Therefore it is inevitable that any attempt to reconstruct a farmer's view of monastic agriculture will be regarded as speculation. After taking into account the unchanging laws of nature, readers must judge for themselves the degree of speculation involved.

The Byland community was founded by 12 monks of the order of Savigny, an order later absorbed by the Cistercians. Driven from Cumbria by raiding Scots they were given shelter at "Hode" (Hood Grange) by Lady Gundreda, mother of Roger de Mowbray in 1134.

Whilst there, they received gifts of land and money from the de Mowbrays. The land included large parcels on the Hambleton plateau around Murton and extensive areas below the escarpment of "Stocking" (Oldstead) and "Wildon" (the present Wildon farms) between Coxwold and Kilburn. In 1143 they left Hode and moved to a site in the Rye valley just north of the present village of old Byland.

The reasons for choosing a site near the plateau instead of in the wide valley below are not clear but the land did have certain advantages in that it was alkaline, free draining and easy working with perhaps not much scrub to clear and the river Rye gave a good supply of water. Its disadvantages were that the land was more prone to drought, and the altitude (over 800ft at Murton) meant late ripening of crops; also Rievaulx Abbey was already well established and in possession of the lower and better soils of the plateau and Rye valley. To make matters worse all communications with the granges they were establishing at Stocking and Wildon involved the ascent or descent of the Hambleton escarpment, which can only have been a great impediment to the carriage of food and materials.

It took only four years for the Monks to realise they had made a mistake and in 1147 they moved to Stocking. About this time they were also given the site of the present Abbey with 240 acres around together with most of the present parishes of Oldstead and Thorpe-le-Willows and, it is recorded, many gifts of money. They later acquired land at Osgodby, Yearsley, Pilmoor, Oulston and eventually Kilburn. Further afield they had granges in the Wolds, Vale of Pickering, Vale of Mowbray, Nidderdale, and Westmorland.

## The Granges.

Both Waites and Donkin have made detailed studies of monastic granges in North Yorkshire. Most granges were self-contained farms varying in size from a few hundred to a thousand or more acres. Land was acquired by any means possible. It could be gifted, rented, leased, bought, or assarted (reclaimed) from wood or wasteland, not always with the owner's permission. The object was to create a compact farm and to put up buildings and housing. A grange was a much more efficient farming unit than the strips and common fields of the peasants and Lords of the Manor.

In the early years the granges were worked by lay brothers. These were laymen who took certain vows, but were not monks. They were expected to work in exchange for food, clothing and accommodation, and probably had a higher standard of living than the peasantry and general workers, and more security. When not engaged in field work and tending livestock etc. the lay brothers could engage in long-term projects such as assarting, constructing mill dams and boundary fences. At least 7 fish ponds were created at or near Byland and Oldstead in this period.

After the first 100 years or so, when most of the long term projects were complete it must have been cheaper for the monks to pay day labourers as and when required, rather than keep a large number of lay brothers who were not always fully occupied. This was one of the reasons why the order was eventually phased out. Most of the large Cistercian Abbeys in Yorkshire had between 200 and 600 lay brothers in the 12th and early 13th centuries.

Donkin lists 13 Byland granges established by the early 13th century. The first granges to be established were at Old Byland, Murton, Wildon, and Stocking (Oldstead). The remains of a substantial 12th century monastic settlement have recently been discovered at Oldstead; probably the Grange which succeeded the living quarters used for the thirty years prior to the move to Byland in 1177. These granges would be mainly arable in the early period; the produce being used to feed the community.

Wildon was, no doubt, a great asset in the early years. The 600 acres of medium clay loam with a good store of fertility was only two miles from Byland and most of the land was potential arable. It is recorded that Wildon was reclaimed by retired soldiers from De Mowbray's army who, together with three of his knights, took vows as lay brothers and established the grange. The memory of the monastic cultivators may live on in some Wildon field names, like William Bank.

The crops grown were wheat, barley, oats, peas, and beans, and grass for hay and pasture. Livestock was sheep, cattle, and horses. There were orchards and vineyards, but it is not known if vines were cultivated at Byland. Flax was grown, and the running streams at Wass and Oldstead were used to bleach the linen. Parish records show that the bleachers continued to work in both villages for 250 years after the dissolution. Byland appears to have had a fishing industry with at least three large fishponds and several smaller ones in the Byland/Oldstead area. A detailed account of these ponds has been written by John McDonnell. (*Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorks.*, Borthwick Paper no. 60, 1981, pp. 25 – 27).

## The Land.

Land was the primary source of wealth not only for the Cistercians but also for the lords and nobles who donated money.



Prosperity and wealth depended on the exploitation of natural resources and the value that could be added to agricultural production by skill and enterprise. Potential for arable production was the first consideration but sheep and cattle were also important, but not consistent producers of wealth.

The land acquired by the monks falls into four main categories:-

#### 1. Land already under cultivation.

A small proportion may have been in this category but much of the land in North Yorkshire had been "laid waste" by William the Conqueror's armies in 1069, which meant that much of the land had not been farmed for about 70 years prior to 1140. The fertility of the land under cultivation cannot be accurately assessed but was probably low, its advantage being that it was on easier working soils and that no clearing was necessary.

#### 2. Waste.

This was land previously cultivated but which had gone out of production, either because of the attentions of William's armies or from exhaustion. It is unlikely that land so described had been out of cultivation for more than 100 years otherwise it would have reverted to scrub or woodland. Depending on the length of time it had been out of cultivation, it can be described as medium rested or long rested land with moderate to good amounts of accumulated humus and a reasonable soil structure.

#### 3. Scrub Woodland.

If land is left uncultivated for long periods it will revert to woodland. Deciduous woodland does not establish quickly on uncultivated land because of the grazing of tree seedlings by animals, both wild and domestic. At first the land is invaded by scrub, mainly thorn and briar. Once established the scrub acts as a protection for the tree seedlings which gradually replace the scrub, the whole process taking at least 150 years to complete. No doubt some land was in this transitional period in the twelfth century. These soils would have a good accumulation of humus but would not be so difficult to clear as old-established woodland and their potential would be considerable.

#### 4. Woodland.

Large areas of woodland became available for arable or pasture as a result of the felling for timber, firewood and charcoal. These would be virgin soils with tremendous potential as arable provided they were not acid. Clearings already existed in most woodland but the Cistercians often made clearings or "assarts" solely in order to create arable or grass even though this did involve clearing stumps and levelling.

#### Assarting for arable.

The breaking up of long rested and virgin soils to create arable land is a very profitable exercise for the cultivator. Large accumulations of turf and/or leaf mould can totally alter a soil's basic structure, holding sands together and making the stiffest clays friable.

Experience of virgin and long rested land broken up in the 1st and 2nd World Wars shows that the structure and humus content declines gradually during the time it is kept under cultivation until the stage is reached where the soils are difficult to crop unless steps are taken to restore fertility – either by applying manure or returning the land to grass.

The time taken to reach this stage would be 10 to 20 years for short rested soils, 20 to 40 years for medium rested soils and 40 to 60 years for virgin soils and woodlands. However, this would depend on how the soil was managed. The introduction of a fallow year, essential to control weeds and diseases, would cause the

break up of humus through aeration and oxidation and hasten the fertility decline.

Virgin soils and those with a thick covering of accumulated turf pose special problems when ploughed as the furrows tend to lift away from the water-bearing mineral soil below, leaving the crop very exposed to drought, and in subsequent years pieces of turf block the plough and harrows making cultivation difficult.

#### Paring and burning.

This practice, described as "ancient" in the 18th century, may well have been used to overcome problems with the new broken turf. Several inches of turf were pared off and burnt and the ashes were spread thinly before ploughing. This brought the mineral soil within reach of the plant roots and the ashes released potash, phosphate, and trace elements for the immediate use of the following crop. The result was a dramatic improvement in the crops for three or four years after reclamation compared with ploughing alone. In spite of this the long-term effect can only have been detrimental, since a large part of the organic matter was destroyed and valuable minerals exposed to leaching. Soils on fields which were pared and burnt would lose their structure much more quickly than those left untreated. This practice was not favoured by some landlords in the 18th and 19th centuries and many tenancy agreements did not allow it.

#### Lime.

Experience in the Byland area shows that when virgin or long rested soils are broken up the acids released as the organic matter decays, together with the leaching of lime due to soil disturbance, cause a fairly rapid acidification.

Present-day practice is to apply lime every five to seven years. No doubt much lime has been lost since the 12th century, but even in those days lime reserves in the Byland area could not have been large. Many soils would certainly become acid within 20 to 30 years if lime was not applied; although some may have been able to sustain cropping for longer.

#### Weeds.

Experience of land brought into cultivation in the last war indicates that in the first few years after ploughing weed populations are low. Annual weeds are the first to appear and can spread quickly. The perennial weeds spread more slowly but once established their effect on crop yields is dramatic. Cereal crops and pulses have difficulty in competing with coltsfoot, thistles, swine thistle, docks, and wickens or couch grass. Those of us who farmed before the introduction of chemical weed control remember all too well the yield-sapping potential of these weeds.

A fallow break to control weeds must have become essential after 10 or 20 years of cultivation on the monastic lands. Judging from the drawings and reconstruction available it would seem that even the improved and heavier ox ploughs of the 13th and 14th centuries would not have coped well with perennial weeds. Weeds must be weakened by complete severance of the root system at a good depth. To do this following with frequent ploughing would be needed using a small furrow and penetrating to a good depth. Failure to do this would mean a dramatic drop in crop yields because of weed competition. If the situation was not controlled a return to grass would be the only remedy.

#### Grass and Livestock.

Cattle, sheep and horses were the main livestock, but swine were also kept in the woodland and also some domestic fowls.

Cattle were the source of power for the ox-ploughs with horses mainly used for carting and pack work, although horses began to replace the oxen in the plough in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Sheep farming for wool production was a major source of income in the 12th and 13th centuries. Rievaulx and Fountains had flocks estimated at around 20,000. Byland flocks were smaller but wool sales figures suggest flocks of up to 10,000.

Wool was exported to Italy and France by most Yorkshire Abbeys including Byland. However, records show that sheep farming was not without its problems. The heyday of monastic flocks did not last beyond the mid-thirteen-hundreds. There is little doubt the flocks suffered the usual disease problems which arise when large numbers are kept. No exact figures are available for the Byland flock numbers, but those for Meaux Abbey in the East Riding highlight the problem.

Year	Sheep Numbers	Cattle Numbers
1270	11,000	1,000
1286	1,320	477
1310	5,406	606
1367	1,471	338
1399	2,397	271

The wide fluctuation in numbers was most probably due to diseases. These were described as rot, pestilence or plague and were undoubtedly fluke, worms, foot-rot and various clostridium infections, well-known to modern shepherds. It is recorded that sheep scab was very prevalent in the 13th and 14th centuries. A pestilence introduced into England from Spain in 1275 is said to have caused severe mortality and could well account for the catastrophic fall in numbers at Meaux from 1270 to 1286.

Once flock numbers were depleted, recovery must have been a long slow process because a large proportion of the flock were wethers kept only for wool production. No doubt the ewes, having to bear the extra stress of lambing and suckling, were more susceptible to disease. This meant that a depleted flock may have contained less than 25% ewes. With such a small nucleus of breeding animals it could have taken up to ten years to restore the flock size.

All the large Cistercian houses in Yorkshire had fulling mills to prepare wool for spinning. Byland also had a woolhouse at Thorpe-le-Willows. Sheep grazing on rough land always accumulate whin pricks, thorns and briars in the fleece and a good deal of sorting and conditioning would be essential to prepare the wool for sale.

From the middle of the 14th century the size of monastic flocks declined steadily and wool and sheep ceased to be a major source of income. In the 14th and 15th centuries more cattle were kept. In addition to oxen, cows were kept for breeding, dairy produce, and to provide meat and hides as increasing quantities were needed. More livestock was needed to return crop residues as manure to the arable land, and to make use of grass, as worn out arable was returned to pasture or meadow. Although cattle were not quite as prone to disease as sheep they did have their problems. In the famine years 1313 – 1319 cattle were no doubt weakened by malnutrition and died in large numbers from diseases described as "plague", "pestilence" and "murrain". The plague may have been a form of rinderpest which attacked cattle as recently as the last century, whilst murrain may have covered several illnesses including chronic lung and intestinal worm infection and possibly tuberculosis.

#### Arable.

Whatever the problems of livestock farming those in the arable sector must have been much more serious in their effect on the economic welfare of the community. After the first few years under the plough the land must have suffered a slow but progres-

sive decline in its ability to produce crops. Over the first hundred years the effect could be cushioned by making new assarts from land not yet exploited, and by returning worn out arable to meadow and pasture, but the supply of unexploited land was not inexhaustible and sooner or later some attempt would have to be made to restore soil fertility.

Fertility can be defined as the ability of the soil to produce crops. Its components are: a good supply of humus to maintain soil structure and supply a source of nitrogen, a good supply of phosphate, potash and trace elements, freedom from weeds and soil-borne diseases, and correct acid/alkali balance. If only one of these requirements is not met a soil will lose its capacity to produce good crops in spite of the fact that all the other requirements are fulfilled.

Agricultural historians and historical geographers often fail to understand the true nature of soil fertility maintenance. They assume that if large numbers of livestock were kept then adequate manuring was possible, that acidity was cured by liming, weeds were controlled by fallow and therefore yields were maintained. All this is meaningless unless it is considered within the economic framework of the farm as a whole. Livestock do not create manure, they merely process crops. If crops were reduced by lack of fertility the amount of manure returned to arable and grass is similarly reduced. The areas which continue to have adequate manure can only do so at the expense of the rest of the farm and if the soil is acid or weedy or carrying disease, the animal manure may not greatly increase the crop. In the case of an acid soil it may even increase acidity.

Good crops smother weeds but light crops allow weeds to flourish thus creating the need to fallow, which in turn depletes humus by oxidation and hastens the leaching of essential minerals. Although the nitrogen released from humus during a summer fallow is beneficial to the succeeding crop, much of it is washed out by winter rain before it can be used by the plant. The practice of summer fallowing was then, and still is, detrimental to long-term soil structure.

Although soil acidification can only be regarded as inevitable in the long term there is only circumstantial evidence to prove it. No information is available regarding Byland but records from other monastic and manorial lands show strong evidence that it existed. The application of burnt lime, calcareous marl, i.e. clay containing limestone or chalk, and even limestone itself, is recorded. However there is also evidence that early medieval farmers were slow to realise that lime was the remedy or they delayed application because of the high cost or poor availability of liming materials. Even as late as the 18th century, figures given by Arthur Young suggest that the cost of applying burnt lime to one acre was the equivalent of two weeks' wages for one man. Considering that the limestone had to be quarried and carted, trees felled for fuel, kilns made and fired and the burnt lime carted to the fields and allowed to slake before being spread, it is not surprising that the liming of large areas was a last resort.

The first resort for monastic cultivators appears to have been a rapid increase in the acreage of the acid-tolerant cereal oats to replace the more sensitive barley crop. Records of cropping and yields from the demesne lands of Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire have been published by Dr. Patricia Hogan of Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia. These show that oats accounted for over 50% of all crops in the period 1250 – 1290.

After that the acreage of oats began to decline until by 1390 the crop had been almost abandoned. Dr. Hogan offers no explanation for this but the reason for the decline in acreage was low yields and crop failure, which can only have been caused by the soil becoming heavily infested with the oat stem and root eel-worm which occurs when the crop is grown frequently in rotation. Once established the trouble can only be eliminated by a



total rest from oats for at least 10 years.

Perhaps it was not until the 14th century that it became clear that liming was beneficial to land which had been cropped for long periods. Even in the more enlightened days of the 18th century both William Marshall and Arthur Young were reporting that many farmers regarded lime simply as a manure and could not understand why the first application gave dramatic results but subsequent ones did not have the same effect.

Established weeds must have posed a far greater problem to early medieval farmers than to their present-day counterpart. Ploughs and implements were of inferior design, making control by cultivation difficult. Thrashing by flail meant that grain had to be laboriously sieved and winnowed several times to remove weed seeds. It was also difficult or nearly impossible to remove all the weed seeds by flailing, which meant that many seeds were returned to the fields by the straw and animal manure even if those sieved out on the threshing floor were burnt.

From 1250 onwards peas and beans figure more often in crop rotations. Not only were they grown to provide high protein food for man and beast; they also left a residue of nitrogen for the following crop.

Once the humus content of the reclaimed land had fallen, animal manure and legumes were the main source of the nitrogen which was essential for crop growth. The records from Ramsey Abbey show a tenfold increase in legume seed sown between 1250 and 1352, coinciding with the reduction of the oat crop. The rotation at Ramsey Abbey was two corn crops followed by legumes followed by fallow. The surprising thing about this rotation is that the legumes were almost invariably followed by fallow. This would most certainly mean that much of the nitrogen left by the legumes would be leached away in the fallow year before it could be taken up by the following wheat crop. This appears to be a total waste as the fallow would have released its own nitrogen anyway.

It hardly seems possible that the monastic cultivators were unaware that nitrogen was accumulated by the legumes, which means there must have been a very pressing reason for fallowing at this stage in the rotation, and this can only have been that the difficulty in controlling weeds in beans and peas was such as to make the cleaning fallow unavoidable. This highlights the severe problems that weeds were causing at the time. Even so the legumes did extend the rotation, enabling crops to be grown in three years out of every 4, instead of 2 years in every 3 as with the 2 corn crops and 1 fallow shift. This represented a considerable increase in productivity, provided the weeds could still be controlled in the fallow year.

What would be the likely changes in the farming methods of the Byland cultivations in response to declining fertility?

Taking the period of maximum reclamation as being from 1140 to 1220, the high fertility of soils in the early years would allow a large proportion of arable to be cropped continuously with corn. Considering the heavy financial pressure that the building of the Abbey, with its granges, mills, etc., imposed, it is most likely that grain was grown continuously so long as yields remained reasonably good. The one thing that could not be allowed was a large reduction in yields. It has never been economic for farmers to cultivate two acres of arable in order to produce the quantity of grain which could be grown on one acre, but it is possible, although undesirable, to do this with grassland because of the lower inputs involved. For this reason it became the practice to return worn-out arable to grass, but if there was no manure to spare for this grassland it would be of very low productivity, and if regularly mown for hay it would eventually become almost barren.

The first response to falling yields was the introduction of fallow every third year. This would eventually mean the expansion of the arable acreage by one third in order to maintain production.

As already pointed out, fallowing caused a rapid decay of humus reserves and would also accelerate the rate at which acidification took place, but it was no doubt essential to have a fallow year to control weeds and diseases.

When most of the arable and accessible land had been assarted and exploited, a new situation must have developed. The only remedy for the falling humus and mineral content of arable soils was to apply large quantities of animal manure. In order to winter the extra animals needed to supply this manure, increasingly large quantities of hay would need to be made. Land formerly in pasture would be mown for hay and more assarts for pasture made in more distant parts of the grange or further afield. Hay crops were vulnerable to loss of quality in wet summers and could be lost altogether, leaving livestock undernourished and vulnerable to disease. This system also required much more fencing, as both arable and hay fields had to be protected, and much more labour would be required for herding and tending animals. Also, transport requirements would be greater as more distant fields were brought into use, more manure had to be carried and spread, and more land mown for hay. If insufficient manure was available for the hay fields they would soon become unproductive. Any increase in weeds meant more hoeing and thorough fallowing; also separating weed seeds from grains and straw meant extra work.

To add to all this, the problem of increasing acidity would have to be tackled either by liming or returning the land to unproductive grass. Today's farmers will see nothing unique in such a situation. This is the way farming has been carried on for the past 600 years. The significant fact is that the Byland community, together with many of their monastic neighbours, must have farmed for 80 or 100 years without having to contend with most of these problems, and the ease with which they farmed in that period must have been the greatest single factor which enabled them to generate the wealth needed to build the Abbeys and create the granges.

#### Conclusions.

English farming in the period 1,000 – 1,500 AD can only be seen in perspective when placed in the pattern of the development of agriculture from Roman times to the present day.

For the first thousand years the population of England was relatively low compared to the amount of land available. The best and most easily accessible soils were farmed to exhaustion and then abandoned in favour of virgin land. This was exploitation farming.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries saw a dramatic increase in the amount of land under cultivation. Whether this extra food was produced as a response to rising population, or whether it allowed the population to increase, matters little. The effect was that the best free-draining, easier-working and easily accessible soils were steadily exploited to exhaustion.

From the 14th century onwards a gradual change was forced upon agriculture, the change from exploitation farming to soil care and fertility maintenance farming, a technique not fully developed until the advent of the improvers of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Depending on which way you look at it, the monks of Byland can be considered either fortunate or unfortunate to have farmed during this era of change. They and their benefactors were fortunate to have had large acreages of unexploited land enabling them quickly to generate the wealth need to establish the large community at Byland and build an abbey church on a vast scale, with all its decorative stonework, together with the mills, ponds, and granges.

They were unfortunate in that before their activities were complete the land exploitation era was ending and in order to continue as a community, they had gradually to adopt fertility-replace-

ment farming which was less profitable.

In spite of the many non-farming activities which generated extra income, many monasteries began to accumulate heavy debts and by the early 1300s monastic power was waning. Exhausted land was sold, rented out, or leased to lords of the manor or peasants.

Many reasons are put forward by historians to explain the gradual decline of monastic wealth and power. In the end Scottish raids, the Black Death, a loss of the pioneering spirit and political pressure all played a part but the decline began much earlier. There can be little doubt that the major causes were economic and were the inevitable result of declining agricultural productivity.

## The Awmack's of Harome

by J. W. Awmack

Thomas Parker is quoted in the Ryedale Historian (1), in 1858, as naming the Almack family as one of the long-time resident farming families of Harome. This family name is correctly spelled Awmack, though occasionally the Almack spelling occurs in the census records, and for many of the parish records the spelling was Aumack.

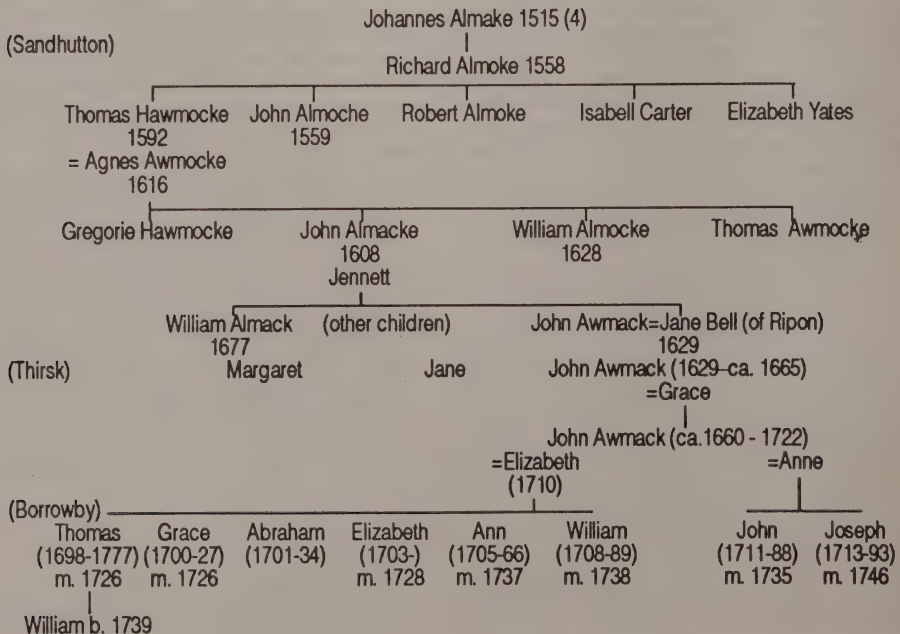
The name Awmack or Almack originated, according to P. H. Reaney (2), in the 12th century from the nick-name "half mark" and in the 13th and 14th centuries was Alfmack, Halfmark, and Halmark. The Awmack's of Borrowby can be traced to the little village of Sandhutton west of Thirsk in the 16th. century, where the name was variously spelled Almoke, Almake, Almoche, Hawmooke, and Awmooke.

The early records of this family can be traced from a number of wills to be seen in the Borthwick Institute in York. The first record to be found is a probate document of Johannes Almoke of Sandhutton, in 1515. This was followed by the wills of Richard Almoke and his son John Almoche, whose wills were probated in 1558 and 1559 respectively. These wills were transcribed, and can be seen in the *Archaeological Journal* (3), where they were submitted by Richard Almack of Long Melford, Suffolk. Richard was born in 1799, the eldest son of Thomas Almack of Leconfield, near Beverley.

In 1592 the will of Thomas Hawmooke, another son of Richard Almoke, was probated. When he died he was an old man with four sons, and several grandchildren. The wills of two of his sons connect the John Awmack of Thirsk to this family. The wills of William Almack and his brother, John, in London show that the builder of the famous Almack Rooms of St. James was also of the Sandhutton family. By the end of the 18th century members of this family were to be found in Borrowby, Thirsk, Harome, Seamer, York, Leconfield, and London.

The first Awmack to be found in Quaker records is Grace Awmack who attended a Quaker wedding in 1670. Grace is believed to have been the widow of John Awmack who was born in Thirsk in 1629, and the mother of the John Awmack who was head of a Quaker family living in Borrowby, north of Thirsk, in the late 17th century. The family had been Quakers in Borrowby since the time when George Fox visited the area about the middle of the 17th century.

John Awmack, born about 1660, had four sons and three daughters, all named in his will of 1722. Thomas, the eldest son, born in 1698, lived all his life in Borrowby. He had two sons and five daughters. Of the daughters, only Elizabeth (born in 1730) married, a fact that can be found in the Quaker records when she was disowned for marrying "in a clandestine way". The marriage





cannot be found in the parish records. Thomas, the eldest son, born in 1736, married in the parish church at Topcliffe, returned to the Established Church and took the spelling of the name as Almack. He moved to Kilburn and later to Leconfield. One grandson was mayor of Beverley in the 19th. century. Other descendants were to be found in Liverpool, Sudbury, Fawley, Brighton, London, and other parts of England. Some moved to Canada and Australia.

William, the second son, was born in Borrowby in 1739 and as we shall see, moved to Harome about 1768. His father, Thomas, died in 1777, and his mother, Mary, moved to Harome to be near her son. She died in Harome in 1786 and was buried at Kirbymoorside.

Of the other sons of John Awmack, two, Abraham and William, were children of his first wife, Elizabeth, while John and Joseph were children of the second wife, Anne. Abraham died without marrying in 1734 and William moved with his family to Seamer in 1770; none of his three sons married and only the family of one daughter can be traced through the 19th century, where we find a grand-daughter as the wife of a doctor, John Cass Smart, in 1861 in Scarborough. John moved to York where his family could be found until 1835. Descendants of this family later were to be found in Leeds, Reading and Canada. The descendants of Joseph Awmack farmed in Borrowby until about 1870, and descendants are to be found in many parts of Yorkshire and Durham.

Of the daughters, only the family of Ann can be traced to this day. Ann Awmack, born in 1705, married Bartholomew Smith of Thirsk, and this family of drapers carried on business in that place until very recent times.

The William Awmack, who was born in 1739, moved to Harome about 1768, and was married shortly thereafter. His marriage has not been found in the parish records, but we know from Quaker records that he was disowned early in 1769, because he was married "by a priest". We know his wife was Elizabeth, because, when his four children were born, their parents were given as William and Elizabeth and the Quaker records showed their names with 'NM' to denote non-member. It is interesting to find that both William and Elizabeth remained with the Kirbymoorside Meeting and were buried in the Friends' burying ground in 1806 and 1835 respectively. Two of the daughters, Mary and Esther, were married in Quaker Meetings. The other daughter, Elizabeth, died aged twenty in 1790. Mary Awmack, born in 1773, married John Nellest, who farmed in the dales to the north. Esther Awmack married William Boyes, who was a shop-keeper in Scarborough.

In the 19th century the Awmacks of Harome are the family of Thomas Awmack, the only son of William and Elizabeth. He was born in Harome in 1781 and was married in the parish church in Danby in 1804 to Mary Sanderson. Their first child, Elizabeth, was born and baptised in Danby in 1804. It is not known where the two other children were born as they were not baptised at that time and there is no record. We know that Hannah was born in 1808, because she was baptised at the age of 22 on the day of her marriage in 1830. Hannah had a daughter, Mary Awmack, born in 1828, before she married Francis Robson. This daughter lived with the Robson family until her

marriage to Frederick Betts in Sheffield in 1849. The Robsons lived in the Harome area for many years as shown by the census records.

Elizabeth Awmack, or Betty as she was known, the eldest child of Thomas and Mary, never married but had a son, Thomas, in 1825. This son was raised by his grandfather, Thomas. In 1881 Thomas appears in the record as a mole-catcher. Thomas Awmack married Sarah Wildon in 1858. They had no children and he died in Harome in 1898 and she in 1901.

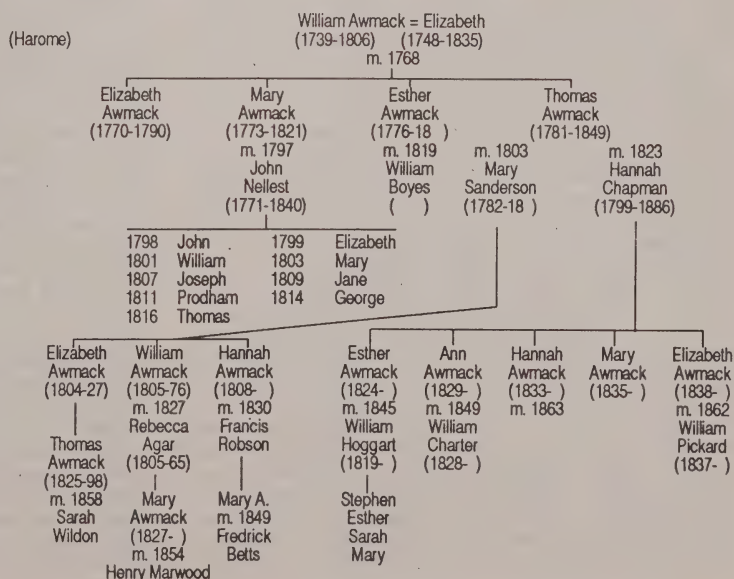
Thomas' son, William, was born about 1805, a date derived from the census records for Harome. He married Rebecca Agar in Lastingham parish church early in 1827. He appears in the census records in Harome from 1841 to 1871 appearing, like his father, as a farmer and a mole-catcher. His daughter, Mary Awmack, married Henry Marwood in 1854. In the 1881 census, Mary and Henry were farming 112 acres in Harome and had seven children. It is likely they have descendants in the area today.

Thomas Awmack was a widower when he married Hannah Chapman in the parish church of Helmsley in 1823. Between 1824 and 1843 they had six daughters and one son. Four daughters married in Helmsley. One daughter, Elizabeth, married William Pickard, a blacksmith in Harome; in 1861 he and Elizabeth had four children at home, and it can be expected that they too have descendants in the Harome area.

It can be seen from the above that there were Awmacks in Harome for about 130 years. It would be interesting to hear of any descendants of the Awmacks who may be in the district today.

#### Notes:

1. 'Harome: the history of a village', *Ryedale Historian*, vol.14, 1988-9.
2. *A Dictionary of British Surnames*.
3. *Archaeological Journal* (Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland), vol. V (1848), pp. 316-20.
4. The dates given are probate dates; names are spelled as in wills.





# Rievaulx Mill: a history trail

by D. Johnson

The story of the corn mill at Rievaulx is like one of those medieval mysteries lately fashionable among fiction writers. There are few facts, more observations, and a great number of possibilities. I am no archaeologist and I will simply set out the clues I have hoping that they may stimulate your imagination, debate, and enjoyment.

In common with old mills, the present buildings at Rievaulx are a mixture of ages and continued to grind corn until 1960, when Arthur Robinson, the last of several generations of Millers of that name, retired. In 1987 I bought the property, and in 1988 restored the buildings, converting them for domestic use, keeping the machinery and the working form of the mill intact.

There are three buildings. The biggest is a three-storey cube containing the water wheel and the gears at ground level, millstones at first floor, grain hoppers at second floor with spouts down to the millstones, and a granary platform within the steep roofspace. A hoist serving all levels was driven direct off the main wheel shaft by a wooden pulley and iron chain, using a simple tensioning lever to put it into drive. A smaller two-storey block adjoins the north-west gable of this building, with the base of a substantial chimney in the angle between the two. A single-storey cart shed lies at right angles to this two-storey building.

The main, three-storey building shows at least three generations of masonry. The ground and first floor walls are built of dressed and coursed golden sandstone, probably from the Abbey as projecting from the front elevation are several corbels carved with angels, griffins and time-worn heraldics. Judging by the wear on the threshold stones and around the arched doorway, this is the 1706 rebuild. A photograph taken in 1860 shows the mill still as a two-storey building, but otherwise laid out as today. Internally, the main structural beams supporting the first floor are oak, although the floorboards have had to be replaced.

Shortly after the photograph was taken, the building was raised to its present height using fairly rough grey limestone. The timbers of the upper floor are Douglas fir and pitch pine – heavy sections with the joists half-housed and dovetailed into the main beams to stiffen the whole fabric.

Timber lintels are used over the few window openings. The oldest generation of masonry is in the back wall of the ground floor, exposed internally. Its outer face is underground, retaining the bank, dam, and everything uphill, the whole wall comprising very accurately cut, large stones with a distinct change of character at rear ground level. During excavations at the back to put in a land drain, the wall was found to thicken out to cover five feet below ground, consistent with a retaining structure. But the top of this wall can be seen running slightly out of line with the superstructure; moreover the wall base along the same alignment was found continuing north-west beyond the two-storey building, eventually disappearing into the steep bank. Another wall base is visible in the stream, almost parallel to the south-east gable of the wheelhouse. This earlier building on the site appears to have been considerably longer than the present establishment, and was presumably taken down to ground level in 1706 or earlier. The quality of the masonry would lead one to expect a life of several hundred years, so here is a wall perhaps remaining from a mill which existed in the 15th Century, before the Dissolution which devastated the Abbey, but preserved its mill as a commercial interest.

The two-storey building is intriguing. Slightly narrower than the main mill, but about the same height before the Victorians raised the latter, it has an external chimney base, an odd slot through the ground floor into the mill, and in 1988 had a tumble-down hearth adjoining the flue, where the stonework has been reddened by fire. Two forms of masonry are evident; big squared blocks of sandstone at lower level, and relatively crudely built sandstone above containing bits of tracery from the Abbey,



and therefore presumably built after 1535. The roof of the building comprises irregular sections of oak, unlike the carefully wrought joists of the 1706 rebuild next door, but the purlins are slotted and wedged through the central collar truss, an 18th century detail. The first floor is more recent pine, either put in or replaced by the Victorians. Where the two buildings join, a pair of heavy oak beams are in place, originally spanning an eight foot opening between the two buildings and carrying the whole gable wall above. The other timbers at this level in the mill being pitch pine, these oak beams probably mark the original roof base line of the mill when it was two storeys. The other, northern gable of the small building was badly shaken when the oil engine situated on the ground floor exploded in relatively recent times. Frank, my neighbour, was in the meadow below the wall and recalls 'a girt lump fleein' thro' t'air'. In 1988 this wall was partly taken down and rebuilt, and there emerged between the inner and outer leaves of masonry a heavy oak beam forming the base of the roof triangle, and tying the gable into the flank walls. This beam is almost black, and older than those of 1706. Slotted at regular intervals, it must have been the principal beam in an earlier, timber-framed structure, whether here or imported from elsewhere I cannot say. No other evidence of half-timbering has emerged, but it would have been appropriate construction for a relatively lightly loaded gable. If this beam originated here, and was in position already when the stone was built around it, as many cruck structures have been encased, then the two-storey building would be pre-1706, and possibly 16th. Century in origin.

The adjoining cart shed is straightforward enough, with sandstone walls open on one long side. The pitched pantiled roof is carried on a fir beam on the open side, with a remarkably heavy post supporting the mid span. On closer examination, this is in fact a section of an old axletree, and carries numerous attachment slots and wear lines. It is indeed a venerable post, appearing in the 1860 photograph when the cartshed was already quite old. This axle may have been taken out of service during the 1706 rebuild, and therefore might have been turning during the reign of Elizabeth I. The cart shed having clearly been built onto the two-storey block would then confirm an earlier origin for the latter.

To understand the disposition of the mill, and particularly the machinery we need to look at the power source which is a spring-fed stream issuing from a beautiful rock grotto hidden in the trees north of the track to Bow Bridge. There are three mill ponds, and it is recorded that the one behind the mill was raised about 1540 to produce a greater quantity of water with better head. This pond was leaking badly in 1988, and has been drained for repairs. The upper masonry dam can now be seen standing on an older rock and earth dam. Bits of old blackened sluice timbers and green lead-glazed medieval pottery sherds were found at the foot of this dam, in a peat layer exposed on the outer side. In the



bed of the dam, with the clay lining removed, parallel lines of stone are exposed along the natural flow of the stream, probably being training walls to direct the flow in the earlier dam. At that level, assuming a similar wheel pit, the water wheel would have been breast shot, i.e. driven at or below half-height and rotating contra-clockwise. The higher dam would allow an overshot wheel to be used, rotating with the flow and developing considerably more power. The present overshot wheel was refurbished in 1857, and develops well over 20 horsepower. The plates between the iron wheel rim and the oak spokes indicate that the refurbishment was the work of – believe it – Mr Crusher of Helmsley. The iron pit wheel runs alongside in a separate chamber but fixed to the same axle-tree. It has bevelled teeth transmitting the drive horizontally to spur gears which convert the power direct to vertical millstone spindles. This is apparently an unusual, possibly unique arrangement. The pit wheel in most mills drove a ‘wallower’ on a vertical secondary shaft rising through the milling floor to drive a great spur wheel with stones set radially around it, not horizontally in line like Rievaulx. Moreover, Rievaulx has two sets of spur gears, potentially for four sets of millstones, but only three sets of stones were in evidence in 1988. The fourth set of driving gears must have been for a power take-off for some other unknown purpose. Whilst the existing gears are presumed to have been installed in the mid 19th Century, the heavy timber chassis of the mill – the hurst – and the gear pit look to be much older, and the horizontal drive system is therefore probably perpetuated from an earlier generation. One reason for keeping the power drive at ground level may have been related to the need to use the water wheel for work other than grinding grain. Its potential, even in the 16th Century, must have exceeded the milling needs of the Abbey which had only a few monks at the Dissolution in a locality which was no longer populous. Moreover, the hinterland was served by other mills at Helmsley, Raisdale and Sproxtton, so Rievaulx mill

would have power to spare, particularly with the introduction of the overshot wheel.

Downhill of the mill, the tail race to the wheel and the bypass stream are carried in tunnels built in coarse limestone and capped with horizontal megaliths, where one might have expected a vault of smaller stones. The water could flow just as well in open cuts, but a bridge would have been needed for wagons to gain access to the front of the mill, and space there would have been restricted by the waterways. The tunnels were in place before the 1860 photograph, and in terms of their simple construction, could pre-date the 1706 rebuild of the mill, in which case they re-affirm the specific line of the water courses and sluices over several hundred years. The tunnels are both some thirty feet long, to provide ample forecourt space in which horse-drawn vehicles could turn in front of the mill.

Immediately uphill of the building is a retaining wall stretching some 250 feet from Rievaulx Bank, merging into the original earth dam and then going on to the far side of the mill. This may simply be an agricultural wall to reduce the slope, although there is no other comparable wall in Rievaulx, in spite of the equally steep slopes elsewhere. It might have been an old mill pond, long since silted up. It's in the right place and at the right level for that purpose, but there is no other evidence to support the notion. Or perhaps it simply helped create a level place on the south bank of the millstream, for some earlier structure long gone, possibly an adjunct to the mill itself.

Symar is the first recorded tenant of the mill in 1538; he also held the Walk mill and Yron Smiths Forge. Under the new management of the Earl of Rutland, iron-working expanded rapidly, and the raising of the mill pond was consistent with the need to increase power to drive hammers and bellows off the only evident power source in Rievaulx, other than the river Rye itself. The mushroom growth of the iron industry here, and exactly where it all took place – including the first blast furnace in the North of England – is a whole other subject within which the mill has some part yet to be deciphered. Nevertheless, it seems fairly certain that the present mill is on the site of Symar's corn mill, using the same ponds and water source, and possibly sharing part of its walls. The extent to which the 16th Century mill was modified with its dam to power a more substantial forge is a tantalising possibility.

When the first mill was built here is a matter of conjecture. The Abbey was founded in 1132 AD, but the early Cistercians being earnestly against material possession, their milling was probably done at Sproxtton mill (now demolished) a mile or so down the Rye, in return for timber concessions for the miller in the Abbey's woods. However, by the turn of the 12th Century, the religious community here was busy building in the far more elaborate early English style, whilst their contemporaries of the same Order at Fountains Abbey built a very large mill which is still structurally intact though its machinery is long gone. It therefore seems reasonable that the large and prosperous community at Rievaulx built its own mill some time late in the 13th Century. The last recorded concession to Sproxtton mill is dated around 1250, whereas the declining population of the Abbey in the 15th century did little building, and would not justify the construction of its own mill.

Where did the millers live? As an Abbey mill, the miller might be a monk housed in the Abbey, or one of the lay-brethren living close by within the precinct. The Robinson family, millers from 1829, lived in Mill House, across Rievaulx Bank, although the house itself may be older than that. Perhaps it was built on the increasing prosperity following the rebuilding of the mill at the start of the 18th Century. Prior to that, whilst there is no record to confirm millers having lived there, Mill Cottage is only a few yards below the mill, and appears to be an earlier, considerably altered structure. No earlier domestic structure is evident, and the mill



itself could have provided no more than a garret for an apprentice.

Surprisingly perhaps, while we collected a pile of artefacts, nothing of exceptional interest emerged during the 1988 refurbishment. A lot of heavy floor tiles still lie in the ground above the mill, perhaps indicating the extent of the building within the Abbey precinct in its heyday. We have a considerable supply of heavy hand-made nails and hooks, the miller's fork for lifting stones out of gear, one or two thick lead glazed floor tiles and the

medieval pottery sherds mentioned earlier, but mainly the simple things one would expect to find in a working mill.

Much remains unanswered. Where was the iron works? I try to imagine the Planning Committee of today receiving an application for an open cast mining and a blast furnace at Rievaulx! What is the odd mound in the meadow to the west? How extensive are the walls under what I despairingly call the garden, and who lived where the butterflies and slow worms now bask in the sun?

## 'Thwaite' place-names on the North York Moors

### I. Introduction.

The place-name element *thwaite* occurs most commonly in Cumbria, in the area colonised by Norwegian-speakers from Ireland, the Western Isles and the Isle of Man. Thence it lapped over the Pennines, in the tenth century and later, into the east-draining dales; it occurs in such settlement-names as Hunderthwaite (Teesdale), Thwaite (Swaledale), Swinithwaite (Wensleydale), Bouthwaite (Nidderdale) and Slaithwaite (Calderdale). Needless to say it also crops up frequently as an element in field-names in these and other central Pennine dales (cf. A. H. Smith's volumes on the place-names of the North and West Ridings – see Bibliography below.)

Although Smith's early study of North Riding names is far less exhaustive than his seven-volume series on the West Riding, it soon becomes apparent that thwaites also extend, if more patchily, across the Vale of York into and around the North York Moors. Smith noted 'Irish-Norse' elements in instances like Comondale (from the Irish personal name Colman). It therefore seemed a worthwhile exercise to collect local thwaite-names from written sources between Domesday Book and the seventeenth century, and to plot them on an outline map (see below). With the encouragement of Dr. G. Fellows-Jensen and the collaboration of B. J. D. Harrison, R. H. Hayes and Mrs. M. R. Allison, we have attempted to compile a 'gazetteer' (see Appendix) of thwaites on the Moors and their fringes as far east as Farndale and Danby. (There is a somewhat sparser distribution of the element further east and north, such as Bagthwaite in Rosedale and two Netilthwaites in Cleveland, but our search has not been detailed for those areas.)

Smith's own collection of North Riding names includes several thwaites within the area surveyed, notably Hushthwaite (SE 519751), on the Howardian Hills, Gristhwaite (farm) in Topcliffe parish south-west of Thirsk (SE 423783), Dowthwaite (Dale) in Hutton-le-Hole township (SE 693902), and Scale Foot (probably the 'Schalinghawhythe' of 1301 – see Appendix) in Comondale (NZ 677086).

The only settlement of village size is Hushthwaite (its neighbour, Carlton Hushthwaite, apparently acquired its distinguishing appendage by attraction). Hushthwaite lies on a north-facing scarp of the Howardian Hills. This is unusual for a thwaite; most have a southerly or south-westerly aspect, typically in the mouth of a side-dale as at Huthwaite Green (NZ490010) and Dowthwaite. The reason for a settlement in this exposed position may relate to the old ridgeway and Roman vicinal road, still labelled 'Malton Street' on larger-scale ordnance sheets, which runs past the village en route between Aldborough and Malton.

### II Discussion (by G. E. Morris).

This paper examines the names of the Survey together with the

by G. E. Morris & J. McDonnell

discussion of the place-name element *þveit*, *þveiti* in A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*, Part II (EPNS, Vol. XXVI, 1956, pp.218–220). Use has been made of; Smith, A. H.; *Place Names of the North Riding* (EPNS, Vol.V.1928) Ekwall, E.; *Dictionary of English Place Names* (OUP, 1st. ed. 1940) Nicolaisen, W. F. H.; *Scottish Place Names* (London, 1976)

There is usually only one record for each of the names discussed. This is often late in date. Some names are therefore open to more than one interpretation so where possible the interpretation of the name is based on the location of the place named as well as the elements in the name. O. N. *þveit*, *þveiti* from which thwaite is derived, is used in Scandinavia to mean 'a clearing in woodland and also a detached piece of cultivated land or meadow' (1). In England, the word has a long history from the time of the early Scandinavian invasions to early modern times when it was used in dialects. Over this period – to judge from the elements associated with it – the meaning seems to change as in Scandinavia itself. It is recorded only in areas which were settled by Scandinavians or in which the speech was strongly influenced by Scandinavian languages. In those areas it is restricted to parts where, in the time of its use, there was still forest or waste to be developed.

In the examples studied, *thwaite* is written in three forms. The commonest form is *thwaite* or some variant of that, either as an independent word, as in some generally late examples, or as second element in a compound. The second form, written as *thwet*, or a variant of this, shows the diphthong reduced in an unstressed syllable (2). It cannot be derived from O. Dan. monophthongised *thwet* as this form did not appear until after the Danish invasions of England.

The third form, written as *fit*, *fit*, or a variant of this, shows the vowel further reduced. The consonant (p) has become (f) a change frequently recorded from the fifteenth century onwards into modern times (3). A similar change is recorded in Scotland in the name Moorfoot, in Midlothians recorded since the seventeenth century in which *-foot* is substituted for *-thwaite* (4).

These changes in spelling all reflect changes in pronunciation. They are paralleled by comparable spellings in Scotland in which the vowel in the unstressed syllable is reduced and spelled *-that*, *-wat*, or *-uat*, a form found twice in the North Riding examples. – *Scarthuat* –, and *Duanesthwat*. Modern pronunciation also indicates this change as in the spoken form (*slawuit*) for the written Slaithwaite (YWR). The form may have been more widespread than the records suggest.

Twelve of the recorded forms of thwaite show the element in the plural. One of these, Thwaites (*Gui. Cart.*, 1267) is early. In some of the others the early forms are singular and the late ones plural (No. 18, 30, 33). There is an increase in the number of forms found in the plural from the early seventeenth century, which may reflect more numerous recorded examples or a change in cultiva-

tion patterns. Further indication of more than one thwaite in a vicinity is found in certain compound names in which the first element indicates comparison; Broad Thwaite, Old Thwaite and High Thwaite. Only one of these is early – Micletwet(1202).

Compound names containing thwaite as second element can be classified according to the meaning of the first element but the interpretation can be subjective where there is only one example or the examples are late. It is difficult to separate elements derived from personal names, for instance, from those derived from descriptive terms. The following examples are cautiously selected.

#### With a descriptive first element.

Referring to shape, size, or location: Scar-, Hou-, Eskbrügge-, Cros-, Bray-, North-, Oust-, Acer-, Gil-.

Referring to appearance: Har-, White-, Stoney-.

#### With a noun referring to a building;

Hus-, Scale-, Mill-, Bur-.

#### With a noun showing connection with other settlements or groups.

Ham-, Westhous-, Westmanbi-, Karle-.

#### With personal names

The small number given here may reflect the personal bias of the writer. i.e. Grise-, Catte-, Gil-, and Ul- could have been considered to be derived from personal names. The lack of certain examples suggests that the work of clearance was not often done by individuals or that the thwaites were not often owned by individuals.

From O.N; Bill-, Ulfis-,

From OE; Piper-, Wymbel-

From Gaelic; Duvanes- (with English possessive)

From OFr.; Froths- (O.Fr. forester)

#### With the names of plants

Trees; Birke-, Slawg-, Sely-, Pil-

Other wild plants; Brakan-, Bracken-, Ling-, Star-.

All these are plants that recolonise areas once cleared and then allowed to revert to the wild.

Crops; Haver-, Stubble-, Hal-, Corne-, Lin-.

Plant derivatives; Thackwi- (ON þak, roofing material, thatch and ON vídr, a wood)

#### With the names of animals

Grise-, Catte-, Oxe-, Ulfis-, Lambi-.

The meaning of the element *thwaite* includes both 'woodland clearing' and 'detached meadow or cultivated land'. The context of some of these names as well as the meaning of the first element enables the local historian to identify instances of the different meanings. There are places which the records also describe as clearings: Harthwaith and Crossehuat (1246) are both described in the Rievaulx Cartulary as assarts: Karlethwot (1242) was described as 'another launde in the forest' but by 1336 it had become 'demesne meadow'.

Thirteen thwaites are recorded in the Gazetteer during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This may not be an accident of recording or research. The time coincides with a period of enlarging churches and building new, larger ones, a time when population was increasing and pressing on the resources available. But thwaites named after birch, blackthorn or sedge suggest that this expansion was not continuous. Thwaites were cleared but they were also deserted. e.g. Scarthuat bankes, 'once cultivated, now worthless except as pasture'. There is material here for local historians.

#### References

1 EPNS, Vol. XXVI, p.218.

2. Wyld, H. C., *Hist. of Mod. Colloquial English*, Oxon., 1953, p.260.

3. Wyld, H. C., *op. cit* p. 291.

4. Nicolaisen, W. F. H., *Scottish Place Names*, London, 1976, p.103-4.

#### Notes on some elements in names in the Gazetteer.

No. 2 *Hus-* OE hūs, ON hús. Rarely used except in the Danelaw or areas settled by Scandinavian speakers, hence probably from ON. I cannot find another example with Hus +thwaite. It refers to a dwelling house, possibly one with some special status, cf.

*Huskari, busping.*

No. 3 *Pilfit* The modern pronunciation with the short vowel suggests that the derivation is from ON. píll rather than OE. pil. Hence 'willow clearing'

No. 13 *Ham-* OE hām, a village, manor or homestead. As first element, *ham* is rare, especially in an area such as this where Scandinavian elements are common. The clearing was near Hamley Hagg and both the thwaite and the hagg were probably connected with a lost village. The final element of all the names, -thwaite, -ley and hagg refers to activities connected with the clearing of woodland.

No. 19 *Micbeall-* recorded 1637. There is no site of a church known near this thwaite nor indeed of a church dedicated to St Michael in the immediate area. Hence a spelling form of OE. micel ON mikill

No 37 *Karle-* consistently so spelled. Hence from ON *karla-*, 'belonging to the freeman'. It could be an adaptation from an earlier OE. *ceorla-* but the place was near Danby and is probably an original Scandinavian name.

#### Unnumbered.

*Hurst-* OE *hyrst*. The vowel in a Northern area is best explained as due to scribal influence in a late record. It is unusual as a first element. The word has varied meanings. Here probably 'a thwaite where timber was extracted'.

*ba-* the position by the river bank suggests a derivation from OE heg, 'mowing grass' rather than OE *baeg*, 'an enclosure'.

*Lambi-*, recorded in the thirteenth century. The -i- between lamb and thwaite presents a difficulty. As the name is one of three together in the Sproxtan area – (Milne Birks, Hulf Ridding, (ON. *bulfr*, dogwood), Lambithwaite) – showing Scandinavian influence, an ON derivation is possible. But comparisons with the spelling of Lambrigg (Westmorland, EPNS Vol.XLII,1964-5, p.134) shows that the name has early forms without the intrusive letter, but later (thirteenth century) spellings with an intrusive -e- which is found until the sixteenth century when the original form re-appears.(see also Ekwall, *op.cit.*, p.271). This confirms a derivation from OE *lamb* for the first element.

*Wymbel-* recorded c. 1154-61. Contains the same personal name, Wynnbeald or Winebeald, as in the neighbouring Wombleton a village name recorded DB 1086. Probably indirectly derived from the village name, - 'the clearing of Wombleton' rather than directly, 'Wynnbeald's clearing.'

*Westmanbi-* Recorded 1336 in the neighbourhood of Danby. A clearing from the settlement of a man from the Western Isles in an area settled by the Danes?

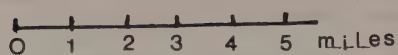
#### III Gazetteer of thwaite names in the area.

##### Notes

1. A uniformly thorough coverage of the area has not been achieved. There is scanty documentation for the south-west corner of the Hambletons (Cold Kirby, Scawton, Hawnbly), and parts of the Kirby Moorside parish, notably Farndale. The fullest listings are for the Helmsley estates and for Danby. A valuable seventeenth-century survey for the former(NYCRO, Duncombe archive, ZEW IV, 1637) covers, as well as Helmsley itself, Snilesworth,



# THWAITES in North-east Yorkshire



Bilsdale, Skiplam, Bransdale, Rievaulx, Pockley, Beadlam, and Harome. By that period there are far more thwaites surviving in Bilsdale than in neighbouring dales, and there are none at all in the bleaker Snilesworth at the source of the Rye.

2. What seem to us the more significant thwaites are numbered and entered on the map. The arrangement follows a very general geological divide: Nos. 1–13 lie on the southerly slopes of the Limestone Tabular Hills and the alluvium to the south of them; Nos. 14–37 are sited on the Jurassic sandstones of the higher moors, including, of course, the comparatively low-lying vale-lands of the Upper Esk and the south-draining dales. This Part A of the gazetteer – the numbered entries – is followed by an unnumbered supplement of other recorded thwaites. These are either doubtful in some respect or insufficiently located to give a grid reference. Part B is arranged by parish/township to follow roughly the sequence of Part A.

### 3. Preliminary observations from the data:

(a) **Altitude.** Rare above 800ft. A large proportion are on low, well-favoured soils; a few, as at Helmsley (nos. 8,9), and a lost Thwaites within the town fields of Guisborough (*Guis. Cart.* i 150), are even sited within the basic field-system of a community.  
(b) **Situation and aspect.** A majority are on land sheltered by high ground from the north and east, but exceptions include Husthwaite(2), and in Danby 33, 34, 35, and 37.  
(c) **Size.** Mr. B. J. D. Harrison has stressed the large size of some of the Danby thwaites. Most of the rest are considerably smaller as far as can be ascertained, though the cluster at Laskill (25) could have been over 30 acres.

(d) **Dating.** With the exception of the Old Irish personal name Duvan(10), there are few clear indications of possible pre-Conquest origins. On the other hand the emergence of Husthwaite (2) as a settlement in the twelfth century, and the relationship of Eskbriggthwayt(36) to an apparently thirteenth century bridge, seem to imply the long survival of thwaite as an active element in a local Anglo-Scandinavian dialect. Compare A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (1987), pp. 41–2, citing two thwaites recorded as newly assarted in 1290. (Assart: enclosure from woodland or waste.)

(e) **Agricultural use.** Comparatively few entries include early indications of use. Arable and meadow predominate, confirming the impression (cf. (a) above) that thwaites were created on reasonably good land; but pasture (or reversion to pasture, e.g. 5) is also a sizeable element. Areas, where given, are invariably assessed in acres, lending support to the concept of the term as an assart or an extension to the original field system.

### Gazetteer.

#### Abbreviations used (sources):

1301	<i>Lay Subsidy</i> (YAS Record Series, vol.21)
1637	Helmsley Estates Survey (NYCRO ZEW IV)
1642	" " " " " " " "
1781	" " " " " " " "
1828	" " " " " " " "
	(Tukes & Ayer)
Burton	<i>Mon. Ebor.</i>
Dugdale	<i>Mon. Angl.</i>
Downe	MSS NYCRO
Eg.2823	British Lib. Egerton (Byland Cartulary)
Eg.8600	" " " " " " (Whorlton Court Rolls)
EYC	<i>Early Yorks. Charters</i> (YAS)
Fairfax 7	Bodleian Fairfax MSS 7 (Abstract of Kirkham Cart.)
Guis. Cart.	<i>Guisborough Cartulary</i> (Surtees Soc. vols. 86, 89.)
NYCRO	North Yorks County Record Office
Riev. Cart.	<i>Rievaulx Cartulary</i> (Surtees v.83)

PRO	Public Records Office
Smith A. H.	<i>Place-names of the North Riding</i> (Eng. Place-Names Soc., vol.5, 1928.)
St. Mary's Cart.	York Minster Library, Dean and Chapter MSS XVI A1.
Surtees v. 94	<i>Yorkshire Fines</i> (Reign of John), Surtees vol. 94.
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i> (North Riding), 3 vols. 1925.
YAS	<i>Yorks. Archaeological Society Record Series.</i>

### Gazetteer (A) Numbered entries (see distribution map)

1. GRISETHWAITE (Farm), Topcliffe par. SE 423783  
(Outside the main study area, but included as an example of a low-lying thwaite.) Height: 85 ft. Situation: West bank of Cod Beck.  
Grisethwayt (Smith 186: gris- ON by-name or 'pig')  
Griswayth 1301:1377 Poll Tax. cf. VCH ii, 70.
2. HUSTHWAITE Height 250' SE 519751  
CARLTON HUSTHWAITE Height 160' 509767  
Situations: H. N-facing scarp above Elphin Beck. C.H. lower ground to NW of H.  
Hustwait 1167 (Smith 191)  
Cf. VCH ii 37 Husthwaite not in DB but Carlton H. is (4.5 car., Archb. of York). 12th cent. church in Husthwaite, 17th cent chapel in CH. H possibly a chapelry of Coxwold.
3. PILFIT (Old and New): Newburgh-Ampleforth boundary SE 563772  
Height: 280' Situation: alluvial flats of Coxwold-Gilling Gap, N. of Holbeck.  
Pilethwait (Dugdale vi 318–9)  
Pilfot (1605 Coxwold estate map, Newburgh priory).
4. ULTHWAITE (Newburgh) SE 566769  
Height: 300' Situation: across Holbeck from (New) Pilfit, qv (3)  
Ulfisthueth (Eg. 2823)  
Wlne- etc. (Dugdale vi 318)  
Owthays (1605 map)
5. THWAITES (Ampleforth) – various SE 585795  
Height: 740' Situation: flat top of Tab. Hills N. of village.  
Scarthuatbankes 1295 (YAS Misc. iv) ('Once cultivated, now worthless except as pasture')  
Bracknethwaite-Ficet (Burton)  
Uses: crofts and 1 ac. meadow (EYC x), meadow (Eg. 2823 f3r)
6. THWAITE LEYS (Harome) SE 634821  
(1637) Height: 175' Situation: field E. of Rye House
7. DOUTHWAITE INGS (Harome) SE 650811  
(1637) Height: 120' Situation: riverside meadow  
Note: the name may be transferred from Douthwaite Dale (cf. no.10); nearby sections of ings here are named in 1637 as Pockley and Carlton Ings, and the survey records tenants of Pockley as having rights in Harome.
8. LINKFOOT (Fd. and Lane) (Helmsley) SE 618839  
Height: 180' Situation: alluvial flat between Tab. Hills and R. Rye.  
Linfitt, Lin(g)thwaite, Lingfett 1637  
Lime Pitts 1642  
Uses: former common pasture in 1642 (see *Hist. of Helmsley, Rievaulx & Dist.* 204); arable strips, some meadow, worked by tenants of Church Roe and other streets in Helmsley (1637).  
NB the 1642 surveyor was a southerner who had constant trouble with place-names.
9. BILLTHWAITE Helmsley SE 625841  
Height: 185' Situation: just north of Linkfoot (no. 8) qv.  
Vilthwayt 1394  
Billthwaite 1637  
Billfitts 1642



- The 1394 mention is from an extant, PRO C/136/82. Cf also *Hist. of Helmsley* 203, for location.
10. DOWTHWAITE (Dale) (Hutton-le-Hole) SE 693902  
Height: 300' Situation: side valley of R. Dove, Tab. Hills; SW aspect.  
Duvanesthwaite (Surtees v. 94, 203), (Smith 60: *Duvan*, OIR pers. n.) 12th cent.  
Duthethwayt (YAS xii, 167-8)  
R. H. Hayes notes also forms in Hou- which seem to refer, notably Hogthuet, 1154-88 (EYC ix, 87-88; Houthweit (St. Mary's Cart., f 174)
11. PIPERTHWAITE (Spaunton) SE 715878  
Height: 400' Situation: nr. Appleton boundary on spur S. of Lingmoor. Fm., S. aspect.  
St. Mary's Cart. (Minster Libr. - not checked)  
Name probably survives in 'Peppery Plantation' on larger OS maps.
12. BIRKETHWATEDIK (1361) (Appleton-le-Moors) c. SE 722872  
Height: 400' Situation: nr. W. boundary of Appleton (close to no. 11) SW aspect.  
(WYRTHWATEDYK(1413), MIRTHWATEDYK(1413) Source: St. Mary's Cart.
13. HAMETHWAITE (Appleton) c. SE 742886  
Height 400' Situation: nr. Hamley Hagg, prob. in lost hamlet of Balschebi. On ridge, SW aspect.  
(St. Mary's Cart.)  
(Nos. 11-13 communicated by Mrs. M. R. Allison of Appleton.)
14. THWAITES (Fm., and Lane) (Nether Silton) SE 467926  
Height: 550' Situation: in SW facing re-entrant under Kepwick Moor. (OS maps)
15. HUTHWAITE (Whorlton) NZ 490010  
Height: 420' Situation: mouth of Scugdale 'on narrow ridge overlooking Crook Beck' - Smith  
Hogthuet 12th cent. (Smith 177) (hybrid?)  
Hot- 1368  
Hew- 1588 (Eg. 8600, Whorlton court roll: 'a kyne gate in winter')  
How- 1661 (ditto): 'intake'  
Hu- 1628 NYCRO estate plan ZJX 10/1 12: 'Huwthwaite Towne' 97 acres of 'groundes belonging to H.'; 280 acres of 'enclosed groundes belonging to Swainby and H.' (Free tenants recorded here in 1368)
16. THWAITES Ho. (Fm.) (Raisdale, Bilsdale) NZ 526026  
Height: 900' Situation: above W. bank of Raisdale Beck.  
Broadthwaite (1637) Note also: Old Thwaite - small garths at NZ 524023. Former farm site?
17. STONYTHWAITES (Raisdale) NZ 544016  
COATETHWAITE( " " )  
Height: 700' Situation: W-facing, above beck, opposite Hall Garth Farm.  
Fields in Cold Moor Cote Farm (1637)  
'Waits' in 1781 Use: 1637- 12 and 3 acres of pasture respectively
18. GARFITT(Sm.) NZ 563031  
Height: 900' Situation: S-facing, under lee of Hasty Bank  
Gartwayt 14th cent. (Smith 69)  
Garthwaite 1637
19. MICHAELLTHWAITE (Bilsdale W. side) SE 568950  
Height: 525' Situation: E-facing slope N. of Fangdale Beck  
1637, fd. on Stone Ho. Fm, 3 acres with 'Seavy Intake'
20. WAITS (Stonehouse Cote Fm., Bilsdale Kirkham) SE 569999  
Height: 580' Situation: W-facing under lee of Urra Moor  
1637 The Waits (3 ac. arable close)  
1781 3 Waits fds. totalling 32 ac.
21. SCALETHWAITES (Bilsdale Midcable) SE 566985  
Height: 600' Situation: SW-facing slope  
1637 3 ac. pasture on Eller mire Fm.  
1781 Scoldthwaite
22. CROSSET (High & Low Fms.: Bilsdale Midcable) SE 57 94  
Height: 550/500' Situation: W-facing  
Croftsthwaite 1637  
Crosswheat 1642 (Not in Smith; not to be confused with Crosslets in Raisdale)
23. HIGH & LOW THWAITES (Ladhill Gill, Hawnbly) SE 545947  
544944  
Height: 1100/1080' Situation: W. side of Ladhill Beck, on old track skirting W. side of Bilsdale, former *magna via* of charters.  
OS maps, no earlier doc., but will of John Kirke of Harthwaite, par. Hawnbly, 1583, Borthwick Wills 22b, f 434, probably refers.  
24. BURFIT (Bilsdale Midcable) SE 574932  
Height: 440' Situation: W-facing slope above Seph  
Burthwaite Holme 1637  
Burfit (separate farm) 1781  
Barefoot Holme 1826
25. WAITS (Laskill) c. SE 575910  
Height: 500/650' Situation: spur above Todhill Beck  
The 1826 Tukes & Ayer survey shows (1) a group of 'Waits' fds. near Rosey Dyke Fm. (2) Oak Ho. Fm. labelled 'Waits Ho.' (3) Waits Close, belonging to Featherholme Fm., next (1)  
1st ed. OS 6" labels area NE of Brookhill Fm. in the same area 'Thwaites Pasture'.
26. CROSSTHWAITE  
HAVERTHWAITE (Dalestown, Hawnbly) c. SE 549888  
Height 450' Situation: NE-facing above Rye  
Haverthwett, Crostweit 1201 Surtees v. 94, 11  
Haverthuate, Crossthuayt 1246 Riv. Cart.  
Herthwaith 1433 YAS Deeds, v.50, 59-60  
Crossethwaytfelde 1468 Guisbro Cart. ii, 164n.  
Use: 1246 entry describes both as assarts (Cr. 3ac., Hav. 8 ac.)
27. BRACKENTHWAITE (Bransdale) SE 620984  
Height: 700' Situation: below church ('Cockan Kirk')  
cf. Rt. de Brakanthayt, paying 4s. 7d. in 1301, under Farndale (Information from R. H. Hayes)
28. THWAITES (Cow Sike Fm., Bransdale E. Side) SE 626983  
Height: 900' Situation: W-facing  
Thwaites 1781(Estate map NYCRO ZEW 6) Use: 7 ac. pasture  
There is also a Waites Butts on W. side in 1826, prob. at Breck Ho. Fm. SE 619980. Height 800'. Sit. next Hodge Beck facing E. (6.5 ac.)
29. FARNDAL: few and late items:-  
THWAITES & FAR THWAITES at Kneysbeck Fm. (8 ac.) 1828  
SE 670950  
2 Starfitts (cf. un-numbered Starfitts Fm., K. Moorside) SE 669958  
at Toad Hole Fm. (3.5 ac., 2.5 ac.) 668958  
THWAITES at Low Mill Fm. SE 672952  
(all from Tukes & Ayer Survey)
30. WAITES HO. (Fm.) (Westerdale) NZ 654037  
Height 650' Situation: head of Westerdale  
Houthwait 1158 (Whitby Cart.)  
Hogthwait c. 1180 (Riev. Cart.) (Smith 135)
31. WHYETT BECK (and fd.) (Westerdale) NZ 673069  
Height: 490' Situation: tributary of Esk and field(meadow?) in fork of the two waters.  
Whitethwayt 1539 (Smith 135) 6" OS
32. SCALE FOOT (Fm.) (Commondale) NZ 677086  
Height 710' Situation: SE-facing on ledge above junction of Baysdale and Sleddale Becks.  
Schalingthawythe 1301  
Skalethwayte 1539 (Smith 148)  
Scal- 1578  
(B. J. D. Harrison is not convinced the 1539 item in fact refers to Scale Foot.)
33. BUTTERWICKS (Fm.) (Danby) NZ 724080  
Height 460' Situation: E-facing slope nr. Danby Castle  
Butterthwayte 1631

Butterwaite Tithe Award 1856

Butterwitts (High) in RCHM (E) *Houses of North Yorks Moors* (1988)

Note: B. J. D. Harrison agrees that the 1631 and 1849 entries refer to this site. But there is also a High Butterwitts Fm. on the north side of the Esk at NZ 723081 on current OS maps.

34. STUBBLETHWAITE (Danby) NZ 693062

Height: 520' Situation: W. bank of Danby Beck, facing E. Stubblethwaite 1697 (NYCRO Downe mss. Church Ho. Fm. deed)

Stubblewaite OS 6" 1st. Edition and later.

B. J. D. Harrison notes: 'The 1697 deed refers to 2 lands of arable in a common fd. in Danby called Stubblethwaite. In 1706 (Downe mss, Diderhow deed) the deed refers to 28.5 lands containing 12 ac. there. By 1725 (Diderhow deed), however, only enclosures are mentioned.' 1st. Ed. OS marks a 'Stubblethwaite Bridge over Danby Beck' here.

35. MILLWAITE (Danby Dale) NZ 691069

Height: 500' Situation: W. side of beck, facing east. Millthwaite 1706 (NYCRO Downe mss. Diderhow fm. deed)

B. J. D. Harrison: 'Deeds of 1706 and 1729 refer to 7.5 lands containing 4 acres, and 14 lands containing 5 acres. Millthwaite was thus still an unenclosed open field.'

36. ESKBRIGGETHWAIT (Danby) ? NZ 719077

Height: 430' Situation ?

Eskbrighwayte 1336 (Smith 330—fd. names)

VCH 336 notes 3 bridges over the Esk in Danby parish:

Castleton (or Bow) Br., Ainthorpe (or Danby Dale) Br., and

Duck Br. formerly known as Esk Br. *Guisbro. Cart. i* 117n., identifies the last as the one involved in this name, and B. J. D.

Harrison agrees. All three were probably the result of 13th cent. bridge-building activity (VCH) and J. McD has an unsupported note of a mention of Eskbrig in 1242; see VCH 333 for a mention of the 'thwoit' there at that date, describing it as a 'launde in the forest'.

The 1336 ref. (PRO C 135/34, I.p.m. Wm. Latimer) gives its area, in combination with an unlocated Selythwayte, probably adjacent, as 80 acres of demesne meadow.

37. CARLETHWAITE (Danby) NZ 738072

Height 425' Situation: S. of Esk, N-facing.

Karlethwoyt 1242 (VCH ii 333)

Karlethwayte 1336 (Latimer I.p.m.)

Carlethwaite 1679 (NYCRO Downe mss: sale of manor)

Another launde in the forest (1242)

B. J. D. Harrison notes: 'In 1336 this area comprised 40 acres of demesne meadow. By 1679 it was divided into strips held by 22 people, and is shown thus on an 18th cent. estate map in NYCRO. It was again 'enclosed' by Lord Downe in the early 19th century.'

Gazetteer (B): Unnumbered entries.

HAITHWAITE (Hood Grange) EYC ix p.208 'By the river bank'

ACERHWEIT (Cawton) Riev. Cart 306 'meadow'

FROSTHSTHUAITH (Hovingham) YAS Deeds v.7 128-9 'the old ditch of F. and the high wood of Righ'

HURSTWETS (Helmsley East Park) 1637

MICLETWET (Helmsley) YAS Fines v.6 39 (1202)

(see also Surtees v. 94, 53-4 for '3 acres in Micletwet next to the land of Rt. de Surdevall' in Beadlam (?or Nawton).

OUSTHAITHE (Helmsley) (Kirkham Abstract (Fairfax 7), f. 49r.)

Oustouth, also Westhoushtaythe

See 1637 survey, Perambulation of Rievaulx Manor: 'The common extendeth from the Entering of Owthwaite and Newlass to Rapwith Foote (i.e. Roppa edge) and so from

thence to Fetherholme Syke and ... Shackon Bridge.' There is an Oscar Park Fm. thereabouts but the coupling with Newlass rather suggests Ouldray Fm., SE 591865

STARFIT(S) House/Farm/Lane (Kirby Moorside) No early forms known. SE 68 86

CORNETHWAIT, Grantcomethwaith (Sproxtton) Egerton 2823 111, 1210-20 and Rutland mss.—no ref. 13th cent: arable.

Eg. ref.: next to the culture of the Lord of Sproxtton on the west'.

LAMBITWAIT (Sproxtton) 13th. cent (Fairfax mss 7, f 54v). Simon de Sproxtton to Kirkham Abbey (sic.): 10 acres in Hulfridyng and Milnebirkes and Lambitwait' and the hermitage of Spr. (hermit's name Godwyn) to support a priest there.

BRAKENTHUAYTE (Wombledon) 1279 Fairfax mss. 37r-38; Bodl. Dodsworth 91 (Newburgh Cart. f 37r-38r)

NORFITTs, Northwayt (Beadlam) 1637

Northwayt 13th cent. (Fairfax mss f 55r.)

In the 1637 Survey Northwaite was one of the village fields (the others were West, Middle, Law, and Keld fds.) Divided into half balks (blocks of strips? — BDJH) One tenant had a land in Northwaite Fd., and a *lee* of 1 rood in a 'pasture close called N. Close'. Another had arable and pasture in N.; another had 16 acres of arable in N. and Middle Fds.

In the Tukes & Ayer Survey of 1828 there are a Norford, a N. Lane and a N. Close between Temples Wood and Marr Wood, SE 644853.

WYMBELTHWAYT (Keldholme) c. 1154-61, NYC v.ix, 92-3, near 'Wood which falls into Rumesdale, and W. and Arkelcroft and the Park'. (Rumsdale Plantation on OS maps is on W. Bank of Dove SE of Gillamoor.)

CATTTHWAITE (Appleton) Beside Catter Beck SE 720 860/70 (Mrs. Allison) Catthuate (1637)

LINGHTWAITE (Bransdale/Skiplam) 1637 (then pasture in closes)

Thackwithwaite (Bransdale) 1621 (NYCRO ZEW title deed 56).

Location Bransdale Head (RHH)

SLAWGTHWAITE (Bilsdale Low West Side) 1637 (perambulation) c. SE 558885 'parcel of ground' on N. bank of Rye nr. Shaken Bridge.

WHAITE (Bilsdale W. Side) on Crosholme Fm. 1637 SE 569967 1642:

5 ac. arable and meadow: 1826 ('Far Waits') 9 ac.

FAR THWAITES (Bilsdale Midcable) on Oak Ho. Fm. 1637 (pasture)

c. SE 573970 Next item listed in 1637 is Intake.

OXETHWAITES, Oxewaite (Bilsdale Midcable) (1637) on Cowhelm

Fm. 3 ac. arable, pt. of 6 ac. meadow SE 578965

THE WHAITES (Bilsdale W. Side) on High Ewe Cote Fm. in 1642.

? SE 573 959 not in 1637 or 1781

ULTHWAITE (Raisdale?) 1538 Riev. Cart. 314-6 Dissn. Accts. NB it is listed last, after Ulwraye, which is presumable Ouldray — see Ousthwaite (Helmsley) entry above.

THWAITE STONES OS maps SE 494870

WHITETHAYTE (Baysdale) Dugdale v. 510. cf. VCH ii 415. Smith relates it to Whyett (Beck), no.31 in Pt. A, but B. J. D. Harrison is doubtful.

WAITS FIELDS (group) nr. Grange Fm., Westerdale, on 1819 estate map (NYCRO ZEW 30) NZ 656053

BRAYTHWAITE (Westerdale) 1335 (PRO SC6/835/2) 'enclosed pasture' 1539 (PRO SC6 Hen. VIII, Beverley Minster) 'messuage'.

Location unknown but may relate to 'Waits Fields' above.

GILTHWAITE (Westerdale). NYCRO ZK Feoffments (Bundle 1, Westerdale, 10674. 1620 feoffment by Rd. Fletcher of Westerdale of messuage, 4 oxgangs etc., and 'a piece of common called Burneteake Hill, a close with house built there on called Gillwhite, Gill Thwaite als. Gilthwaite'. Perhaps Waites House, no. 30 in Pt. A?

SKALETHWAYTE (Baysdale) Dugdale v 510. 'Alias Lodge Green' (VCH ii 415)

WESTMANBITHWAYTE (Danby) 1336 (I. p.m. Wm. Latimer): 120 ac. of demesne meadow.



## Reviews

### Recent research in Roman Yorks studies in honour of Mrs D Chitty (Mary Kitson Clark)

This is a formidable volume of over 400 pages. It demonstrates how much has been recorded since Mary Kitson Clark wrote her *Gazetteer*, published in 1935. My own involvement in Yorkshire archaeology in the last half century makes this volume of particular interest to me, and my review takes the form of a series of comments on many of the papers included, and some record of my own participation and reminiscences.

The volume is in three parts:— Local and Regional Studies, Material Evidence, and Documentary Sources. The first deals with the Humber environs on both sides of the river, the Wolds and Vale of Pickering, and the Vale of York with the Dales and NE Yorkshire. I shall comment on each of these in turn.

#### Part 1. Local and Regional Studies.

In 1946 with Jim Ingram (who was then assistant warden at Scarborough Youth Hostel) I set out on a tour of the E. Yorks Wolds visiting several sites mentioned in the above volume. We made our way over Malton, Langton, Rudstone and the Newbalds where Dr. Corder told us of foundations and pottery found on both sides of the road. We picked up a few sherds and were asked about certain mounds in a field which were probably sheep-bields, also an embanked cross, and the possible DMV at Bartindale. I wrote to Hull University for information on these sites. I was told very little was known about them but a man called Beresford at Leeds University was interested in them! Later we went through to Brough and looked at Bozzes field where Dr. Corder found the site of Petuaria (or at least the inscription); there is yet argument on its exact site.

In the Humber area of Redcliff, Crowther and Didsbury have listed a considerable number of finds including Gallo-Belgic wares, brooches and coins (p16–17). I am not familiar with this area, but I did have a month at Winterton during Dr. Stead's excavations in 1967; we had a look at Winteringham, a rather enigmatic site, and visited Alkborough where there was a rectangular enclosure called Countess Close, probably medieval, but Roman grey ware has been found there. On the escarpment overlooking the confluence of the Trent and Humber was a turf maze called 'Julian's Bower' where the children played what they called a Roman game! At Roxby near Winterton the vicar told me about a mosaic pavement exposed years ago but covered up again; this is not shown on Fig.4.1

At Barton on Humber I was fortunate enough to meet Mr. C. F. Bryant who is well versed in the local history of the area. He showed me a large assortment of Roman pottery, mainly 3rd–4th century AD; this material was probably from occupation sites but the area is on clay and it is likely that pottery kilns exist in this area.

In Ben Whitwell's paper, his fig.4.1 shows a series of sites alongside the Roman roads from Hibaldstow to the Humber with several villas and sites of buildings on both sides of the river, together with a cluster of pottery find-spots. A considerable number of coins of the period AD 364–388 are also recorded. Excavations at Winteringham have uncovered evidence of stone buildings of the 2nd – 3rd century; below these was a complex indicating occupation in the first century; there is however no clear evidence that this was of a military nature. A few miles inland, and connected with the sites at South Ferriby, lies the site of Kirmington. This is known only from aerial photographs. The settlement covers 50–70 acres and the Iron Age enclosures are overlaid by a first century Roman fort. Finds include no less than 4,333 coins, over 1,500 of the period 364–388 and 102 of the latest

issues of 388 – 403. There was also 4th to 5th century Germanic metalwork and Romano-Saxon pottery. Welton, excavated by Rod Mackey but still unpublished, yielded evidence of occupation from the Iron Age to later Roman times. Mackey considered that the sunken-featured buildings, Grubenhauser, there were already established by the third century. It is pointed out that the major cemeteries of the fifth century lie somewhat inland on both the north and south banks of the Humber. Was the late Roman population sufficiently strong and lasting to deny the early Saxon settlers a foothold?

Millett and Halkon's paper on Holme-on-Spalding Moor includes the Roman kiln site found by Philip Corder in 1930 (Throlam ware). The site of a small Roman town was also identified at Shiptonthorpe, on the road from Brough-on-Humber to York. It is thought to be Delgovicia; this is however disputed by Creighton in a paper at the end of the volume. He dismisses Shiptonthorpe as merely an 'extensive linear development alongside the Roman road'. It is suggested the Throlam kiln products were transported to the Humber at Faxfleet, together with iron smelted near Welham Bridge. The pottery appears to have been traded to Brough and the surrounding area, but not to York or Malton.

Herman Ramm pays due tribute to Mary Kitson Clark and her *Gazetteer* but regards it as unfortunate that it concentrated on objects that are certainly Roman and says nothing of native settlements or traditions. He then discusses the later evidence from around Langton, pointing out that the ditches (approx 3m wide and 2m deep) differ little from those of Rudston and contained no feature that was military. I remember commenting to Corder that we had similar 'native' pottery from the Levisham Moor enclosures but that very little was really Roman. At Langton, as at Rudston, there is evidence of a pre-Roman homestead continuing its occupation with very little apparent alteration except for the adoption of Roman artefacts well after the conquest. Corder however did not find evidence of round huts or domestic buildings inside the enclosure although he did find a cross division within it. The farm and domestic buildings continued to grow and alter, reaching their greatest extent and prosperity in the fourth century. Ramm points out that the network of major Roman roads, well described by M. K. C., cut ruthlessly and directly across existing farmland, must have had a devastating effect on those whose lands and livelihood lay across their path.

Colin Hayfield's paper reflects the considerable period he has worked in the Wharrah Percy area, both participating in the excavation and superintending field walking. Air photos by Tony Paciito of the Wharrah villas were exceptionally successful and the magnetometer survey also proved very valuable. In fieldwalking, Hayfield points out that pottery turned up by the plough usually only represents the upper levels though at times deeper material is turned up.

The Romans did not find this part of the Wolds uninhabited. The timber had been cleared and there were several neolithic features, with later ditches, droveways, and burial mounds. Water was a key factor; the Gypsy Race and spring attracted early settlers to this otherwise poorly-watered area. Roads and trackways in the area fall into two categories: those whose positions are recorded by numerous cropmarks, and those still in use today. The present B1248 (of Roman origin) proves of critical importance; it was clearly a feature of the medieval landscape. The open fields respect it, but further work is needed to confirm its date. Ramm believes it was built in the first or second century AD to link the area to the fort and town of Derventio. It is more difficult to be certain of the origins of numerous minor trackways; some are no more than later 19th century trackways to farmsteads.

Of the two Wharram villas, that at Wharram-le-Street was the larger. The main buildings were in a central enclosure some 50m square. The main occupation was from the second to the fourth centuries. It could have been the residence of a wealthy man from Derventio or a prosperous local farmer; there was no evidence of later post-Roman occupation. The Wharram Grange villa, also contained within an enclosure, was smaller. It may be earlier in origin – possibly in the later Iron Age. The fourth century house had the remains of a mosaic floor.

Most of the Roman settlement around Wharram consisted of farmsteads, of which 11 have been identified. All produced pottery of the third and fourth centuries, with some earlier material, and six had Saxon sherds, notably at Birdsall High Barn and Wharram Grange Crossroads. A third group of settlements is represented by the site of modern or medieval villages. Of the six in the Wharram area four have been in the location of a Roman settlement.

Fig.7.8 shows the Roman settlement at Wharram Percy itself was both extensive and complex, and possibly the site of another Roman villa, or at least a large village. Fig.7.9 shows the curious 'ladder' type of enclosure on Birdsall Brow. It is pointed out that few of these have gateways for access between them or the scarp itself. Others are usually aligned along trackways.

Fig.7.10 shows manuring patterns at Raisthorpe; a similar pattern of abraded Roman sherds was found NE of Appleton-le-Moors by Margaret Allison. In his summary Hayfield concludes that we see in the area a particularly ancient and conservative landscape; and that much of the 'Roman' landscape is pre-Roman in origin, surviving little changed into the mid-Saxon period.

Rahtz sums up the evidence from the two Wharram villas from the third century onwards. Fig.8.4. At Wharram Percy itself, the North Manor revealed evidence of many Roman features overlying an important Iron Age nucleus. The principal feature is a pronounced hollow way, which had its origins in prehistoric times but only late Roman pottery in its filling. It is very difficult in this area to distinguish fifth century or later pottery from pre-Roman hand-made wares. Did Wharram Percy end when the way of life of the natives disappeared as they knew it? Dramatic evidence of the change was found in the two sunken-featured buildings or hollows with sherds of 6th–7th century date and also some Roman types. John Moore told me that he found late Roman sherds above Saxon sherds in the huts at Wykeham. Sunken featured buildings at St Albans in 1968 however contained only Roman pottery.

In conclusion Rahtz points out that only 4% of the site has been excavated after 35 years of digging. It is the periods of transition about which we are still unclear. He thinks it may be left to a future generation to sum up the evidence.

Dominic Powlesland's paper on the Roman landscape in the Vale of Pickering covers new ground – the old idea that the east end of the vale was a marsh until medieval times has now been exploded. Fig.9.1 shows a settlement zone of over 500m in length aligned on the main trackway below the 30m contour, occupied from the mid-Iron Age until the early Saxon period. There were great difficulties in dating the late and sub-Roman sites, but a radiocarbon date of AD410 from one of the latest features should be significant. The part of the Anglian settlement and cemetery south of the A64 are not included in this paper, but are currently the scene of major excavations.

In his paper, Brian Hartley discusses the Roman forts in the area north of York and outlines previous work done by May at Elslack in 1909. There now appears to be less evidence for destruction in AD 367 than was previously thought. Many of the forts were heavily occupied down to the end of the fourth century but their end is still unclear.

Rick Jones' contribution concentrates on recent work at

Lingcroft Farm, Naburn. Here there are pre-Roman enclosures, land divisions and round houses. The evidence indicates settlement with arable cultivation in the area when the Roman army occupied the York district. There may be many more sites of this kind in the area.

Mary Kitson Clark gave the lead in her Gazetteer. She quotes Gill, writing in 1852: 'About 60 years ago (1800), three stone coffins were found in Spring House Farm, Raskelf, when men were digging on old sward land, on the border of the wood. They contained bones and dust which crumbled on exposure to the air. The coffins had overhanging lids and were 7–8ft in length by 3.5 ft in width at the head. A little to the west of the coffins were the remains of foundations, with small brick tiles described as highly glazed.' I visited the site (in Tholhorpe parish) in March 1976 with Mr. Marwood when corn was being sown in very light dry soil. The farmer took us to a low hill SW of the farm where there was a small plantation which had replaced one cut down to make room for an airfield in 1940. The ground was covered in rubble from this, but in the ploughing to the west there were Roman sherds on the surface; probing indicated stone or rock at 15–18 ins. There was a variety of Roman pottery and roof tiles; this may have been a villa site. There are also hints of native farms at Crayke, where many beehive querns have been found. Roman pottery has also been found at Cockerdale Wood, below Cold Cam. There are also possible Roman farmstead sites near Hood Grange, and at Kencow Wood. Here Pacitto found a dark patch of charcoal and pottery, flue and roof tiles, and his air photos show another likely site near the drive to Hood Grange. Many beehive querns have also been found near Thirkleby. There must have been several such farms or villas in this area supplying the army and York.

The re-excavation in 1976 of the important site at Dalton Parlours is described by Tony Sumpter. It was occupied in the mesolithic period, and in the Bronze and Iron Ages prior to the Roman settlement. Round houses 11.5m – 17m in diameter were set in single ditched enclosures. There were many pits, presumably for storage, with two saddle querns and a large number of beehive querns. They were thought to be derived from gritstone erratics which still occur in nearby fields. I have seen several querns at Thorner, only about two miles from Dalton Parlours, though there is an outcrop of Millstone Grit at East Rigton, less than a mile away. Native wares can also be found on the surface of fields close to Mill Wood Thorner. It was here that Mrs. Grace Wood found part of a broken altar dedicated to Mars (now in the Yorkshire Museum). Another altar was said to have been found near Biggin Farm, NE of Wyke.

There is no evidence of continuity between the Iron Age farm and the Roman villa which was presumed to have been founded in the early third century AD. Building J was a winged corridor house 29.6m long. In this was originally a semi-circular Medusa mosaic lifted in 1854. The wall of the west wing contained unusually massive gritstone blocks, three of which appeared to be re-used quoins. A stone-lined oven with a long flue had survived. Building A was a rectangular stone range 26 by 7 metres, very badly robbed. Building B had two heated rooms, of which several pilae survived, bridged by flat stones of sandstone. Much painted plaster survived, from which a ceiling panel and wall friezes were re-constructed. The date of the demolition was around AD 340.

There was also a sunken-featured building with a corndrier. Building M was however the longest, 32 by 13 m. It consisted of a large workhall and a bath suite on the south front. The water supply came from two wells in the farm yards, though traces of a tank of stone and a channel leading from it are recorded in 1854, with evidence of two aqueducts. The pottery was mainly 3rd–4th century AD including Crambeck, Huntcliff and Throlam types; coins ranged from AD 196 to 370.



Soon after the backfilling of the well, building debris had been used to level the ditches. Several sherds of an Anglo-Saxon cinerary urn were found with crude chevron decoration – the only vessel of its period from West Yorkshire.

Why the name Dalton PARLOURS? Did someone find the ruins at a much later date and compare the rooms with the parlours of the typical house of the period?

The site is summed up by Sumpter as starting as a thriving Iron Age farm, reborn as a prosperous Roman villa and reduced to outfields in the Anglo-Saxon and later periods.

The green track that runs from the A659 towards Terry Lug could well be a Roman drove road. It passes very close to the villa site. The large farm at Compton with its good water supply could have also been connected. Another Roman road runs from Rowley Grange to Wothersome and there is a raised causeway in the fields west of Wood Farm running from the direction of Wyke.

The large area in the Pennine Gap discussed by White had in part been covered by the photographic record (fig. 13,1) and by the research of the veteran Arthur Raistrick, and later by Alan King. Fig. 13,4 shows some of the settlements and field systems. Many of these yield late Roman sherds as well as possible Iron Age types. The forts of Bainbridge and Elslack were partly excavated in recent times, but there is still much to be done here. The new fort at Wensley remains unexcavated. The remains at Greenber Edge are in good preservation and should be protected. I took Jim Rutter to see them in 1957; he suggested Stony Raise might be the ruins of a broch.

The Grassington fields continue under the present village and in favourable light can be seen below the car park. There are also stone-walled hut circles in Deepdale and Langstrothdale. Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby record half-buried walls and ruined huts in Crummackdale. A recent talk (BBC 1989) mentioned the discovery of a substantial Roman house in Swaledale by Fleming and Laurie. The caves and rock shelters have also produced a mass of material, often badly recorded. Querns were produced in the area, several in the vicinity of High Force.

Roger Inman describes the Romano-British settlement in the South Tees Basin. This paper lacks grid refs; the reason given to me was that the farmers would be furious if they were divulged – a poor prospect. The road from Lease Rigg turning towards Guisborough is unlikely. Wade's Causeway is aligned on the Goldborough area. More probable is the road through the Kildale Gap to join the coast road. High Street (Whorlton), a key site at the north end of Hambleton Street, is not mentioned apart from the coin hoard. Nor is there any mention of research at Parish Crayke near little Busby, where there was some trace of a hypocaust (a tile grave with a skeleton was found here in 1804). Prof. Ian Richmond (in conversation) maintained that there should be many villas or farms in Cleveland.

Fig 14,1 pottery from Hutton Rudby has no indication of its locality apart from its connection with a small enclosure of the type described in my list (NE Yorks Studies 1989)

There is one small square site shown on the North Yorkshire Moors map near Barnby Grange Farm, Guisborough, at NZ 573142. Looking at this area some time ago the farmer told us he thought it was part of the dismantled railway workings (a helmet found in 1878 is now in the British Museum.)

## Part 2: Natural Evidence.

Paul Buckland's paper on the building materials of Roman Yorkshire is well researched. Jet was also worked at Grosmont in the lower Esk valley. Stephen Briggs also discussed querns, and the distribution of Millstone Grit boulders. I have doubts about his diagram (fig.16,1), especially the line of boulders of Millstone Grit spread at regular

intervals all the way down the coast from Ravenscar to Spurn Head. Spaunton is also placed too near the coast.

The majority of querns in this area are of Crinoid Grit or Channel Sandstone. An unusually large number of beehive querns were found in excavation at Dalton Parlours (p. 180). Many of these probably came from the Thorner outcrop or from surface boulders. Briggs places too much reliance on former records; some of these are unreliable, not the work of competent geologists. Spaunton Moor is a rough-out site; recent research by the Sheffield group located rough-outs from beehive querns. Rather than factories these sites may be regarded as workshops for local people who held a common right to remove or shape stone in that area. "Regional studies of this kind may furnish local type successions incapable of extrapolation in their entirities to the national level" (p. 302).

As well as rough-outs from beehive querns and disk querns there are several rounded stones on the moors some 40 to 50 ins in diameter and 10 to 12 ins thick; they must have been intended for large water or horse mills.

Jeremy Evans writes on later Roman pottery distribution. On the subject of Norton fabrics, no further work was done because of Corder's sudden death. He intended to publish the Grove Bungalow Kiln more fully. This has had to wait for publication in the NE Yorks Studies volume (Hayes 1989). The Norton kiln excavations showed that face urns were manufactured there; the quantity of calcite gritted ware was also much greater than expected. Norton ware is found as far away as Aldborough (with hammer and tongs decoration). There are more kilns unexcavated at Norton, seen in a trench running under part of the Grove. Several Norton pots were found in the cemetery off Langton Road (Hayes 1989). The Knapton kiln was however never fully excavated.

Jennifer Price has contributed an excellent report on the interesting Romano-British glass bangles. Stephenson told me he thought they were made from re-used Roman glass. Price's fig. 19,1 shows the distribution spread in Cleveland with the largest concentration on the Wolds and around Malton. No 45a from Stony Rigg was found on the surface at 1400 ft. OD well away from any other Roman site. Pieces of what looked like fused opaque glass were found in the Costa Beck observations, but the expert who examined them was not prepared to believe that they were other than industrial waste.

The small ivory figure from Malton described by Peter Wilson was presented to Scarborough Museum in 1881. It was noted by Mary Kitson Clark, also by Robinson 1979. In his discussion Wilson thinks it Roman though a post-medieval date was formerly suggested.

## Part 3. Documentary Sources.

Percival Turnbull and Leon Pitts write on 'the politics of Brigantia'. Evidence of a Roman building has been recovered in appreciable quantity from the Tofis area at Stanwick. Redeposited domestic rubbish includes a very high proportion of fine wares, Samian and glass. The site is of course an oddity, an enclosed oppidum, perhaps closer in conception to the tribal centres of Southern Britain. The great rampart enclosure with Roman style building, the wealthy panoply, all point to the presence of an individual, a Brigantian noble of great prestige. Cartamundua was described as POLLENS NOBILITATE. I remember Prof. Ian Richmond describing her treatment of Caratacus as causing enormous resentment among the northern tribes and Didius Gallus having to rescue her. York has been suggested as her capital but there is a lack of archaeological evidence for this period; Aldborough was ISURIUM BRIGANTIIUM but again no archaeological evidence of this period was found there. Very little excavation has however been done at Aldborough, apart from the defences



and some buildings in the interior. Years ago a speaker at the YAS suggested Cartimandua took her name from the 'Great Black Stones'— these are still standing. Has any excavation taken place here?

John Creighton ends the volume with a paper on place names in East Yorks in the Roman period. Despite his complicated arguments we are no nearer to solving these problems. It is unlikely in my view that Papcastle was DERVENTIO. Malton is not, he believes, a strong case for the above identification: but until more excavation is done no one can tell — it was a very fortunate find of the Brough inscription that pleased Dr. Corder so much. Another site where very little work has taken place is Stamford Bridge; it is unlikely to have been a major fort, simply a guarded river crossing. Creighton does little more with the place names than juggle with them; he draws no useful conclusions, and merely confuses the issue.

Looked at as a whole, this is a massive work, for which the editor is to be congratulated on his difficult task. It contains much new material, but, as may be expected, is patchy in some areas. For example, Brian Hartley concentrates on the forts, while little is recorded on civilian settlements; there are surely more in the vicinity of York than are mentioned by R. F. J. Jones. In north-east Yorks the area south and east of Spaunton has revealed evidence of occupation within a mile of the aisled house (Hayes, 1989, fig. 33, pp.48–49). Trial holes gave evidence of sherds and occupation roughly half a mile apart, from Spaunton to Lingmoor on the edge of the limestone hills.

The area around Crayke is also rich in sites. When I dug at Woodhouse Farm in 1957 (YAJ pt. 157, 1959, p.8), flue tiles, roofing tiles and querns were noted as well as pottery. Edward Hildyard was certain there was a major site on top of the hill there, already occupied by the church, castle, and hall, but his trial trenches produced only human remains and medieval pottery (YAJ pt. 157, pp. 99–111). Since then Crayke has produced several querns, but the major site is still to be unearthened. It needed someone with the patience of Colin Hayfield or Ben Whitwell to survey the area (provisional graphs like Figure 1/4 may be of use, but good distribution maps are better). What is needed here and elsewhere is concentration on the blank areas and more fieldwalking. Painstaking research of this sort will still bring rewards.

R. H. Hayes

## Old Roads and Pannierways in North East Yorkshire Raymond H Hayes

An attractive National Park Volume catches the eye with environment-friendly green moorland pictures framed by doodles of art nouveau. Delightful pictures a-plenty grace the book, showing old moorstones, crosses, bridges and trods. There is a good souvenir picture too of the photographer and author Raymond H. Hayes. Beneath it, someone has written of him "whose generosity and enthusiasm has inspired many others to pursue an interest in local history and archaeology".

Despite the title, Raymond Hayes' survey is much more concerned with the routes of the high ground within the National Park, than with the lower grounds of North East Yorkshire, where roads ran between old common fields, low carrs and meadows. It is rather on the North York Moors and their Dales that he concentrates. Here, where moorland scrub and light wood were once far more widespread than today, ancient routes linked villages, hamlets and farmsteads, churches and industrial sites amidst a country where late assarting or intaking only went a limited distance beyond the fields of high settlements, or crept around the more promising dales. In such high commons, routeways, until metalled, always kept a great measure of flexibility.

If anyone know this district better than Raymond Hayes, he has yet to make himself known. More than this, through long and prolific years, nay decades, Raymond has been listening to others, to knowing experts and knowledgeable country folk alike, seeking information wherever it could be found and getting it down. Once in Hartoft Dale an 'old hand' was talking about things that had been. He spoke of 'yardlands', barely mentioned in the documents of the district and surely not publicly aired for a long time. As the centuries fell away, Raymond's notebook was out and his pencil busy. Better known, perhaps as the archaeologist, he has been as adept at this other kind of excavation.

Some of the information gathered is presented here, albeit a fraction of the sum. The theme is routeways, from place to place. This is a subject which will amuse and amaze as long as there are either curious countryside walkers, photographic aviators, or fire-side explorers of maps. The problem is that the lore of panniermen and drovers, carters and carriers, badgers and chapmen rarely found its way into print. Only genteel travellers eventually committed thoughts to paper. Even then, it was often to complain at the evil of miry roads, or to note the ill humour of some inn landlord 'yoked to a tigress'. Of those who frequently crossed these moortops, only the Quakers left much of a literature. One had his girl friend fall off the horse behind him when hit by the branch of a tree and didn't notice the going of her.

At the other extreme, the smugglers across the moors left a rich legend, as rich in exaggeration as in truth. Yet Westerdale's Gin Garth does seem to have been a middleman's staging point for trans-shipment of a massive trade that began at Saltburn's sands and might leave a delightful archaeological find of a cask of gin below a flag at Littlebeck. For far more permanent travellers there is hardly a written source of evidence at all of any solidity. We must rely on site and road names, descriptive fragments in medieval charts, or later surveys, deeds and maps, or brief accounts of relaying flags by Georgian Egton highway surveyors. More than these, it is a matter of inference from those puzzling though rich assemblages of such moor artefacts as crosses, burial mounds, boundary and direction stones, from road furniture to causeway paving, and from not only the evident farmstead destination but the vanished terminus now a mere slagheap or bump in the ground.

That bitty network of pannierways, the paved trods or flagged causeways, revealed here, epitomises the problem of road history. They look like a system but don't seem to be one, more likely several; here focusing on a church and so perhaps designed to carry its tithes or its congregation, but elsewhere on an alum quarry, or yet again seeming to circuit a dale and link up farms. The builders, those who planned and laid these roads, are unknown, more often than not. Yet each trod took a fair investment, each block neatly cut and laid, and each causeway laid would be a boon to whoever lived by it. Who paid and who laid is not obvious. Some trods cross the bounds of township and even parish. The interests of the roadmakers must have been as broad.

Other writers on north east Yorkshire have taken the pack animals as their starting point and useful things have been said. The time is not yet when the men who led the animals can get their due, nor even the lordly, monastic, church, or otherwise businesslike institutions that they served. The moors were never 'wastes', and they have carried remarkable contributions to farmers' markets and a surprising range of industries. We shall need more research yet and probably more sources of information before road users can be the focus of study.

Raymond Hayes takes the other approach, one pioneered many years ago for the Whitby district by J. T. Sewell. He starts with the roads themselves. He takes us along them, discussing each as he does so, but leaving such special points as medieval road classification, vehicles, packhorses, guidestones, bridges, and



road names for brief appendices. There we are reminded that iron, glass, wool, cloth, ship's timbers, coppice wood, charcoal, salt, fish, lime, tiles, alum, and smuggled gin were part of the traffic of these roads. Yet, it is the roads themselves that form the bulk of the book.

This has the merit of making this volume into a walker's book, with between forty and fifty routes explored for what has been along them, the use they have had and what can still be seen. A general map is provided but good additional maps will be needed to get the most from what is written. North York Moors explorers will have them. Ideally Raymond's own maps would have been reproduced here, each annotated in every available space with additional data, but we must stay with the possible. The Leisure Maps will do the job nicely.

So equipped, by a good fire, you can in imagination share Raymond Hayes' thoughts on the roads. As you ask who made this route and why, or who used it in the shifting centuries, you will ponder whether Bronze Age barrows along a road make it a Bronze Age route, or whether the construction of some medieval bow bridge lured users like a modern bypass, or, by some toll or hermit's hand stretched out, drove you away to a cheaper course. You may wonder why King Henry 1st., after evicting hermits from Goathland in Pickering Forest was moved to allow them to stay, provided they offered hospital services to travellers. What travellers? "Whither goest thou?"

Better still, if you can, you will walk the road, with map and book in mac and knapsack, thumbing it through sun, rain and wind to learn why a stone high on Rudland Rigg has 'Hallelujah' carved on it. You will march along Hambleton Street, wondering if the mere use of that name 'street' convinces you that it is Roman, as it might if it were some Watling Street beside a known villa, or heading directly for some earthwork of rounded corners. You will wonder about red Rudgates, broad Bradgates, stony Stonegates, and argue that surely Thornton Dale's Whitegates must have had limestone showing through. Best of all, you will share in the thinking of a man who in our times, has done the thinking about such matters.

J. H. Rushton

### Where to go today, no. 3: Helmsley

Ian Sampson

This excellent little guide is the fourth in a series – York Minster, Ripon Cathedral and Rievaulx being the other three. The booklet opens with a brief description of the area and its history. There follow descriptions of the main buildings and features of the town, Duncombe Park at some what greater length, Helmsley Castle and All Saints Church. Finally there is 'A Walk ... at the edge of the town'. Here more could perhaps be said of Canon's Garth and its history, and on emerging on to Carlton Lane a left turn up the hill for 100 yards or so affords a very pleasant view of the town with the Castle Keep and the Church Tower prominent against the background of Plock Wood and the trees of Duncombe Park with the curve of the Rye valley between.

The text is succinct and clear with architectural terms explained; the photographs and art-work are excellent and the booklet is embellished with a pleasant "dado". 16 pages in all, the current price is £1.25

G. V. Hazlehurst.

### PR Wilson (ed.) Crambeck Roman Pottery Industry, Roman Antiquities Section, Yorkshire Archaeological Society 1989, 115 Pages, 78 text figs 15 pls, £15.95

The core of this volume comprises the republication of Corder's two studies, *The Roman Pottery at Crambeck, Castle Howard*, and

*A Pair of Fourth Century Pottery Kilns near Crambeck*, but the opportunity has also been taken to bring together all the available information on the industry. An editorial note draws attention to the fact that these papers are presented as originally published, although with type re-set. This presents an immediate and continuing problem, since the volume now contains a total of eight 'figure 1's and will clearly create referencing problems in the future. The first section on the original publications to which have been added two short notes (also republished), is followed by Part 2, Recent research, comprising a substantial paper on the development of the pottery industry by J. Evans, and a short report on the results of a fieldwalking and geophysical survey at Jamie's Craggs, Crambeck. Part 3 of the volume republishes papers by Wenham and King and Moore on somewhat indeterminate, but perhaps associated discoveries at Crambe, some 10 km. to the south of the Crambeck kiln site.

Useful as it is to have these various papers reprinted, Evan's paper represents the most valuable aspect of the volume and it is perhaps a pity that it does not appear as the first contribution, the more so since it is the only one to contain a location map of the broader locality. Evans considers the topography, kiln sites and kiln structures before going on to examine vessel form and decoration. This reviewer would have been quite prepared to accept a summary in lieu of the extended tabulation of the results of fabric characterisation which are given here. The following survey of the distribution of the material and the chronology of the development of the Crambeck pottery industry would have been more useful if it had distinguished more clearly between military and domestic sites; although the evidence is limited, such a distinction might have assisted in determining the extent to which this pottery was dependent on military orders.

In conclusion, this is a volume which will be of value to the pottery specialist and student, although of limited general appeal. The indefensibly high price will perhaps not deter these purchasers since the poor binding precludes the possibility of photocopying – the review copy is already falling apart. These comments should not detract from an appreciation of the worthwhile presentation of further primary archaeological information from an editor who has already made a valuable contribution to the published archaeological resources of our area.

Blaise Vyner.

### Raymond H Hayes, North East Yorkshire Studies:

*Archaeological Papers* (ed P Wilson) (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds 1988) 144pp, 113 figs, 38 plates

This collection of a wide range of papers by Raymond Hayes demonstrates the extent of his activity as well, ranging from Mesolithic to post-medieval interests. The introduction provides an all too brief backcloth to Raymond's work, an autobiographical fragment which puts some key dates and experiences in 80 years of interest in things past. This began with childhood in York, its ruins and museums; and went on to his later collaborations with Charles Phillips, Rowland Close, Tony Pacitto, Ian Stead, Don Spratt and Madge Allison. Would that this had been more than a single page; we need a full-scale autobiography!

The first paper deals with several Mesolithic sites – a sad story of flint-hunting by collectors, well-meaning amateurs and tourists, and including the familiar story of a man's collection being consigned to the dustbin on his death. Many thousands of flints are thus without provenance, but here we have at least a few hundred illustrated, with details of location and stratified context. There is not much more data on these early millennia – the odd bone and environmental observation. Dating is oddly vague in the absence of early carbon-14 dates, but this may signify only the



last stages of this flint technology. It is difficult to see, as Raymond concludes, how the study can progress without the meticulous excavation of stratified sites; he clearly does not see this happening through the theoretical approaches developed by Jacobi and others.

The second paper, on Costa Beck, introduces us to a site in the Vale of Pickering that is arguably one of the most important in our area. Iron Age and Roman structures and finds are preserved here over a wide area, in remarkable condition; they are over a metre deep and waterlogged. This could be another Glastonbury Lake Village or Flag Fen. Recovery of data was by an ingenious method, the potential of which has also been recently recognised in the West Midlands – floating down the beck in an inflatable boat. Raymond was able to examine its sides and to recover finds from the banks. Plans are afoot for more work here by the University of York.

Several papers deal with the Roman period. A gazetteer, unfortunately not mapped, extends that of Mary Kitson Clark for Ryedale and the Moors. This includes a useful discussion of the possible sites of signal stations on the coast and inland; and a feast of data on sites in the area, including many round Helmsley. They indicate a wealth of sites, some destroyed but many worthy of further excavation. There is a list of enclosures, of native sites; and an excavation report of the residues of a Roman building in a valley base (Newtondale), a unique situation in NE Yorkshire; fragments of opus signinum suggest a building of some consequence, probably destroyed by flooding.

Of considerable interest is the section on Norton, the *vicus* of the Malton fort. Detail published here of kilns, buildings and roads enlarges our understanding and fills out the brief summaries published by Robinson in his seminal *The Archaeology of Malton and Norton* (1978). The cemetery site at Langton Road is of special interest: the 26 burials found display an astonishing variety of posture and orientation – this deserves more analysis.

Medieval sites include an upland farmstead in Baysdale, possibly a sheep farm or vaccary of Baysdale Priory. Buildings at Thornton Riseborough were of a later date, 15th–16th century, and included one with an apsidal end. This site could be part of a medieval village, as there are many other earthworks nearby.

A major contribution to the history of medieval technology is provided by the report on excavations at Rosedale West. Here there is a rich outcrop of iron ore, reputedly even attracting lightning. The ore was exploited in the early 14th century and again in the 16th. There was at least one furnace, probably of shaft type, with bloomery and other hearths.

There is finally an account of the post-medieval pottery kilns at Stearsby, together with an appendix of a list of 20 medieval and later kiln sites on the southern side of the moors.

The volume is fully illustrated by specially drawn figures and plates; the former could have benefitted from more reduction. All this is a mine of information for anyone interested in the archaeology of the Helmsley area – a valuable supplement to *A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District*. (ed. J. McDonnell, 1963).

We must all be indebted to Raymond Hayes for his indefatigable energy and meticulous scholarship in recovering this mass of data over an astonishing fifty years, to add to the other great half-century studies of Greenwell and Atkinson. A full bibliography of his work is shortly to be published, and we must be grateful that Raymond in his eight decades not only observed, recorded and dug, but also published so much.

A final tribute must be paid to Peter Wilson, one of my students at Birmingham in the 1970s and now working for English Heritage. He has not only helped Raymond prepare this material for publication, but has edited the whole very efficiently and selflessly.

Philip Rahtz.

## The North York Moors – Landscape Heritage

Edited by D A Spratt and B J D Harrison, 232pp., David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1989. £14.95

When I was offered the chance to review this splendid volume I attacked the task with eagerness; after all at one time or another since the age of thirteen I have walked over most parts of the North York Moors. I have delved in detail into the history of some of the areas; and it is a landscape that I love (especially in winter). I have always thought of the Moors as a series of places, never a single area; in part that view comes from approaching them from different geographical directions and in part from detailed study of particular areas. I have always enjoyed knowing little snippets of history which the casual visitor might never discover. I assumed (based largely on recent experiences in the Yorkshire Dales) that books on the landscape are likely to contain spectacular pictures with minimal text and maximum "ooh – aah!" impact – over-priced, over-coloured and short on explanation. This book proves me wrong.

The editors and their contributors are to be congratulated on producing a volume that reflects, occasionally awkwardly, the diversity of the North York Moors and provides a readable quarry of information for anyone who wants to do more than motor across the area. I did have some difficulty in establishing the readership at which this book is aimed; I found it a relatively easy and informative read which filled in many gaps in my knowledge and managed to raise many issues which have always concerned me – particularly the problem of tourism. I suspect it will appeal mainly to the resident or informed visitor rather than the casual visitor, and I have to say that my greatest disappointment was the lack of detailed bibliographic references, even though the casual reader might find the detail contained too much; if this seems a carping criticism, I apologise; the volume is a "must" for every lover of the Moors.

The editors lay out the aims of the volume in a short introduction which is followed by a chapter on the Landscape by Atherden and Simmons; I felt that the geology and glacial history were dealt with in a cursory fashion, with only one map – one good diagram on the effect of glaciation and water action would have been a great help. The vegetation of the area is clearly described (and ties in with the later agricultural history) and yet the history of the vegetation of the moors in the last ten thousand years is surprisingly truncated – the impact of man (especially given the authors' expertise) seems to be under-stressed, and it might be that this chapter would have benefitted from a diagram showing the vegetation changes in one specific area.

Spratt's chapter on the prehistoric period is all-embracing and succinct, unfolding the early development of human occupation and summarising much of the author's work on the later prehistoric dyke systems, raising important issues about the development of prehistoric boundaries and their subsequent development. Hartley's summary of the Roman occupation brings together the available information, pointing to better known Roman sites and is followed by Lang's chapter on the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings – a readable and useful contribution bringing together the role of archaeology, written history and place names, whilst disarmingly admitting the lack of correlation from the earlier period between place-name evidence and archaeology. The summary of early Christian sites is clear and well-written, and yet I wonder how the casual reader will interpret the fact that the only place the Anglo-Saxons are mentioned is in the title of the chapter (Angles/Anglians elsewhere). The Viking section of this chapter (but now enter "Anglo-Scandinavians") is packed with detail and provides an excellent introduction to the churches and sculpture of the period, although sadly it is illustrated with only one plate and map.

These three chapters on prehistoric and early historic activity



attempt to explain and summarise the effects of man on the landscape. They set the scene for my favourite chapter, by B. J. D. Harrison and B. K. Roberts on the Medieval Landscape, which the authors rightly claim is the keystone of the volume. Here with intelligent use of a series of maps and well chosen examples the reader is taken through an action-packed and detailed, almost breathless tour of the landscape from Domesday (explaining in passing how the Norman clerks mangled Anglo-Scandinavian dialect, and speculating on whether the chains of villages close to each other listed in Domesday Book represent "journeys made by clerks – distant echoes of hoof-beats and cold winds") through the Wasting of the North, Norman Castles and the organisation of medieval landscape. The discussions on the shapes of individual settlements and the basis of the Norman and later economy are aided by the use of examples – Snainton is particularly well-used as an example. The information and use of detail is beautifully dealt with.

In following this chapter, accepting that by 1300 much of the present human landscape is in place, McDonnell's chapter on agriculture and settlement after the Middle Ages is carefully constructed, and he manages, with the effective use of examples, to explain the impact of the Enclosures, as well as dealing with the development of waste reclamation and over-felling in the seventeenth century. By taking as his example the work of Charles Turner as an agricultural improver, and Foord's work on water supply, he manages to chronicle the effects of three hundred years of change enjoyably and clearly.

The last group of chapters in the book are thematic; Goodall deals with Domestic Buildings in a sound and persuasive manner, imparting information easily – when he talks about double-pile houses, for example, the term is instantly explained. He deals with houses by class of occupant and explains both farmhouses and cottages with clarity whilst adding personal detail which retains the reader's interest. J. K. Harrison's chapter, A Landscape for Industry, brings together and explains the ghostly skeletons of the mining and industrial landscape (as well as water mills). In explaining the economic value of the geology he surveys the whole range from jet to iron, from alum to coal; again a well illustrated chapter of past enterprise – and here again this reviewer felt the need for a detailed bibliography! I particularly enjoyed the discussion of coalmining. There is a useful appendix of Old Industrial Buildings and Sites at the end of the volume.

The next chapter – The History of Communications – sits a little uneasily in the volume as a whole; the authors take us back to the development of the early road systems before dealing with the history of the railway network, accompanied by a series of maps which indicate the sad decline of the railways.

The final chapter by Statham (Modern Times) deals largely with the twentieth century; the impact of the Forestry Commission and the dreaded conifers, the loss of stone walls and hedges in the face of new agricultural realism, the impact of tourism (a lovely illustration of the ill-fated Ravenscar Estate), and the coming of the National Park, problems of protection and the impact of modern technology.

I originally read this volume twice in one week, and I sat down in some desperation to write a balanced review – even the dust jacket "blurb" understates the quality of the volume. I spotted one or two unfortunate errors – for example one of Alan Staniforth's outstanding colour plates is credited to "A Stainiforth"; there is a reference in the index to the Hackness Hills on page 4 which is wrong – it is an acknowledgements page; and I never did find Figure 1 (it doesn't appear to exist). But when a reviewer is reduced to this sort of level of critique it must be clear to the reader that he is very short of any serious criticism and reduced to nit-picking. I was however saddened that amongst the magnificent colour plates there wasn't one view of the Moors in winter;

my first literary introduction to the Moors was a copy of Atkinson's "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish" now republished as "A Countryman on the Moors", and his description of Winter on the Moors remains for me an inspired and yet intimate and still unsurpassed descriptive and atmospheric passage. All this however is mere padding – the publishers are to be congratulated on promoting an excellent series, the editors and their contributors have produced an outstanding study, which deserves to be widely read and I sure will be widely appreciated not only by those who live on and near the North York Moors but also the serious visitor.

R. T. Schadla-Hall.